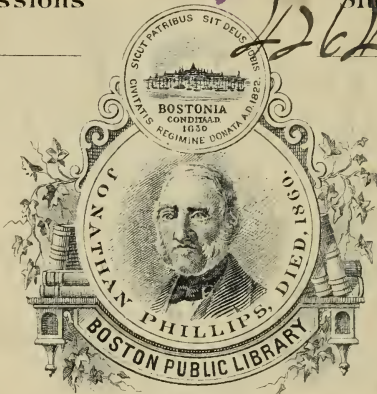


Accessions

Shelf No.

267.60



FROM THE

Phillips Fund.

Added _____

13

PROCEEDINGS

AT THE

FIRST PUBLIC MEETING

OF THE

SOCIETY FOR THE EXTINCTION
OF THE SLAVE TRADE,

AND FOR THE

CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA,

HELD

AT EXETER HALL, ON MONDAY, 1ST JUNE, 1840.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT,
PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY,
IN THE CHAIR.

LONDON :

PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET.

1840.

C O N T E N T S.

	PAGE
Speech of His Royal Highness Prince Albert	6
Report, &c.	6
Letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury	7
Ditto from the Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishop of London, and Mr. Clarkson	8
Speech of Mr. Fowell Buxton	9
Ditto of the Bishop of Winchester	14
Ditto the Right Hon. Stephen Lushington, M. P.	15
Ditto the Venerable the Archdeacon Wilberforce	18
Ditto the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart., M. P.	22
Ditto the Bishop of Chichester	25
Ditto Samuel Gurney, Esq.	28
Ditto the Earl of Chichester	31
Ditto the Hon. Charles Langdale, M. P.	33
Ditto the Lord Ashley, M. P.	34
Ditto the Rev. George Clayton	35
Ditto the Marquis of Northampton	39
Ditto the Lord Viscount Howick, M. P.	41
Ditto the Lord Viscount Sandon, M. P.	42
Ditto the Rev. John Dyer	45
Ditto the Rev. J. W. Cunningham	46
Ditto the Rev. Jabez Bunting, D. D.	48
Ditto the Right Hon. Sir George Murray	51
Ditto Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, Bart., M. P.	53
Ditto the Earl of Ripon	55
Appendix A. Prospectus	56
Ditto B. Rules and Regulations of the Society	61
Ditto C. List of Vice-Presidents and Committee	63
Ditto D. List of Subscribers	66



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016

PROCEEDINGS, &c.

HIS Royal Highness Prince Albert entered the Hall precisely at 11 A.M., the hour appointed, and was received with the most enthusiastic cheers.

The following Noblemen and Gentlemen, amongst many others, were present, viz. :—

Mons. Guizot, Ambassador of France, the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Breadalbane, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Euston, M.P., the Earl of Chichester, the Earl Howe, the Earl of Ripon, the Earl of Devon, the Earl of Morley, Viscount Sandon, M.P., Viscount Howick, M.P., Viscount Mahon, M.P., Lord Charles Fitzroy, M.P., Lord Robert Grosvenor, Lord George Lennox, the Bishop of Winchester, the Bishop of Chichester, the Bishop of Salisbury, the Bishop of Ripon, the Bishop of Exeter, the Bishop of Hereford, the Bishop of Norwich, the Bishop of Lichfield, the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, Lord Ashley, M.P., Lord Worsley, M.P., Lord Teignmouth, M.P., Lord Seaford, Lord Eliot, M.P., Lord Berners, Lord Monteagle, Lord Calthorpe, Lord Nugent, Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq., the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart., M.P., the Right Hon. Stephen Lushington, M.P., the Right Hon. General Sir George Murray, G.C.B., Sir Joseph de Courcey Laffan, Bart., the Right Hon. Sir Stratford Canning, M.P., the Right Hon. Sir Henry Hardinge, M.P., the Right Hon. Sir George Grey, Bart. M.P., the Right Hon. Sir Alexander Johnston, the Hon. William Lascelles, M.P., the Hon. Charles Langdale, M.P., the Hon. Captain Francis Maude, R.N., Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Bart., M.P., Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, Bart., M.P., George Edward Anson, Esq., Francis Seymour, Esq., Sir Edward Bowater, Sir George Stephen, the Archdeacon Wilberforce, Captain Sir Edward Parry, R.N., W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P., R. M. Milnes, Esq., M.P., D. O'Connell, Esq., M.P., N. A. Vigors, Esq., M.P., Edward Baines, Esq., M.P., John Irving, Esq., M.P., William Roche, Esq., M.P., Charles Lushington, Esq., M.P., Thomas Dyke Acland, Esq., M.P., William Busfield, Esq., M.P., James M'Queen, Esq., C. E. Trevelyan, Esq., Joseph Gurney Barclay, Esq., James Cook, Esq., James Baudinel, Esq., Joseph Beldam, Esq.—Quantamassa and W. Anssa, the Ashantee princes, Baron Gersdorff, the Saxon minister, D. R. Morier, Esq., her Majesty's minister to the Swiss Cantons, the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyan, the Moravian, the London, and the Baptist Missionary Societies, the Reverend Doctors Benson, Dealtry, Bunting, Burder, Vaughan, Cox, and Hannah, the Reverend Messrs. S. C. Wilks, J. W. Cunningham, M. M. Preston, George Clayton, John Beecham, James Dixon, E. Hoole, T. Jackson, R. Monro, John Clayton, John Bowers, Isaac Keeling, John Scott, John Burnet, John Leifchild, James Sherman, R. Pyne, John

Blackburn, William Jones, P. Latrobe, William Allen, Esq., Josiah Forster, Esq., Robert Forster, Esq., Thomas Sturge, Esq., George Stacey, Esq., W. E. Forster, Esq., Samuel Gurney, Esq., Dr. Hodgkin, Dr. Bowring, Thomas Farmer, Esq., Sir Moses Montefiore, Mr. Sheriff Wheelton, Capt. Trotter, R.N., Capt. William Allen, R.N., Capt. Bird Allen, R.N., Capt. Washington, R.N., Capt. Cook, Capt. Henry Hope, G.C.B., R.N., Lieut.-Col. Edward Nicolls, David Turnbull, Esq., J. Gurney Hoare, Esq., Henry Waymouth, Esq., William Hamilton, Esq., J. M. Strachan, Esq., Henry Pownall, Esq., H. R. Upcher, Esq., R. Matthews, Esq., &c.

On taking the chair His ROYAL HIGHNESS thus addressed the meeting :—

I have been induced to preside at the meeting of this Society from a conviction of its paramount importance to the great interests of humanity and justice. (*Cheers.*) I deeply regret that the benevolent and persevering exertions of England to abolish that atrocious traffic in human beings, at once the desolation of Africa, and the blackest stain upon civilized Europe, have not as yet led to any satisfactory conclusion. (*Cheers.*) But I sincerely trust that this great country will not relax in its efforts until it has finally and for ever put an end to a state of things so repugnant to the spirit of Christianity and to the best feelings of our nature. (*Loud cheers.*) Let us therefore trust that Providence will prosper our exertions in so holy a cause ; and that under the auspices of our Queen (*Loud cheers*) and Her Government we may at no distant period be rewarded by the accomplishment of the great and humane object, for the promotion of which we have this day met. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)

The following Report was then read by the Rev. J. M. Trew, the secretary of the Society.

“ The Committee of the Society formed for the extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilization of Africa, deem it expedient to commence their First Report by briefly stating the origin of the Society.

‘ At a meeting of Noblemen and Gentlemen feeling a deep interest in the Extinction of the Slave Trade, and the Civilization of Africa, held at the Right Hon. Stephen Lushington’s, No. 29, Great George Street, Westminster, on Tuesday, the 23d day of July, 1839 :

‘ On the motion of the Lord Bishop of London, seconded by the Earl of Euston, it was unanimously resolved—

‘ That an institution be formed, having for its primary object the Extinction of the Slave Trade by adopting measures for civilizing Africa, and encouraging and protecting the cultivation of the soil and legitimate commerce.

‘ On the motion of the Lord Viscount Sandon, seconded by Lord Seaford, it was unanimously resolved—

‘ That a Provisional Committee be appointed to draw up rules and regulations for this Society.

‘ On the motion of John Irving, Esq., M.P., seconded by Samuel Gurney, Esq., it was unanimously resolved—

‘ That it may be of the utmost importance to the suppression of the Slave Trade and the Civilization of Africa, that an institution for agricultural purposes, wholly distinct from the institution named in the first

resolution, shall be formed, and that a Provisional Committee be appointed for the consideration of this subject.

‘On the motion of Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq., seconded by the Right Hon. Stephen Lushington, M.P., it was unanimously resolved—

‘That all the Noblemen and Gentlemen present be members of the African Civilization Society, with power to add to their number.

‘The meeting then appointed the several Provisional Committees, and also a Deputation to confer with Her Majesty’s Government upon the measures to be adopted for promoting the objects of the Society now instituted.’

“In pursuance of these resolutions, the Committee have held many meetings during the year, and have paid the most anxious attention to various subjects connected with the establishment and interests of the Society, into the details of which they do not now feel it necessary to enter. They content themselves with this general report of the formation of the Society, with submitting the names of the Noblemen and Gentlemen who, in their judgment, should be appointed as the Vice-Presidents and Committee of the Society for the ensuing year, and with their warmest congratulations to the Society on the condescending acceptance by His Royal Highness Prince Albert of the Presidency of the Institution.”

MR. FOWELL BUXTON.—I beg permission to read a letter that has been addressed to a member of the Committee by the command of Her Majesty the Queen Dowager. “My dear Sir Thomas Acland,—I have not allowed a moment to elapse without submitting the Prospectus of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade to Queen Adelaide. I am commanded to convey to you the entire approbation of Her Majesty to any plan which, by diffusing the blessings of Christianity, the comforts of civilized life, and the means of education, may gradually extinguish the dreadful export of slaves from Africa, and all the horrors consequent upon that detestable traffic. Queen Adelaide begs to present a donation of 100*l.* to the Society, with Her Majesty’s ardent prayers and best wishes for the entire success of their most praiseworthy objects. I am very truly yours. (Signed) Howe.” (*Great cheers.*)

REV. J. M. TREW.—I am also instructed by the Committee to read a letter addressed to Sir Robert Harry Inglis, by His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. “Regarding the Slave Trade with abhorrence, I shall have pleasure in joining a Society whose attention is directed to its extinction by opening amicable communications with the native princes of Africa, with the view of preparing the way for the civilization of that unfortunate country. The doubts which I expressed to you at first have been removed by the assurance that this Society is established on the principle of not taking part in any plan of colonization or trade, and that its objects are exclusively pacific and benevolent. As I have not the power of attending the meeting, I trouble you with these lines to assure you of my hearty concurrence in the purposes for which it has been called. I remain, my dear Sir, your faithful servant. (Signed) W. CANTUAR.” (*Cheers.*)

MR. FOWELL BUXTON.—I am desired to say, that his Grace the Arch-

bishop of York has expressed his entire concurrence in the sentiments contained in the letter which you have just heard. (*Cheers.*)

REV. J. M. TREW.—I am likewise instructed to read a communication addressed to Sir T. D. Acland from the Archbishop of Armagh, Lord Primate of all Ireland. “My dear Sir Thomas,—I regret that it will not be in my power to attend the meeting of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade, and for the Civilization of Africa, which will be held at Exeter Hall on Monday. I enclose an order for 25*l.*, which I request you to be so good to hand to the Treasurer of the Society in aid of its objects, which have my best wishes for their success. I have the honour to be, with much respect, your faithful servant. (Signed) JOHN G. ARMAGH.”

I am further instructed to read a letter to the same purport addressed to the Right Hon. Stephen Lushington, by the Lord Bishop of London.

“My dear Sir,

“I am much concerned to find that the public meeting of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade has been fixed for a day on which it will not be possible for me to attend, as I have to hold confirmations in Hertfordshire on Monday and Tuesday next. I am the more concerned as I learn that His Royal Highness Prince Albert has consented to take the chair at that meeting. I should gladly have embraced the opportunity of publicly expressing my earnest desire to promote to the utmost of my power the important object of the Society. We owe a debt to Africa which we can hardly ever pay in full. But no efforts should be spared by us to diminish its amount, and nothing effectual can be done to that end till the Slave Trade, that greatest of all human iniquities, is suppressed, nor will any endeavours of ours effect that suppression unless we can open the eyes of the natives of Africa to its wasteful impolicy as well as its cruelty. When that is done, Christianity will have free course and do its proper work. I think, therefore, that the line of proceeding which the Society has marked out for itself is that which gives us, under the Divine blessing, the fairest prospects of the final civilization and conversion of Africa. Believe me, my dear sir, yours faithfully. (Signed) C. J. LONDON. May I request you to set down my name for a donation of 25*l.*”

I am also instructed to make a communication from a name well known to every individual now present, Thomas Clarkson, Esq. (*Great cheers.*) “Gentlemen,—I was much gratified by your kind invitation to attend your great meeting on the 1st of June, though I needed none on a subject which is so near my heart. I am grieved, greatly grieved, in answer to it to say, that the present state of my health will not allow me to be removed, so as to undertake a journey, for some days to come, though there is nothing which I should more desire. All my life, from the 24th year of my age, has been devoted to the sacred cause which you now so laudably advocate, so that no one can doubt of my readiness to be with you and to serve it. When my dear and revered friend, Mr. Wilberforce, (*Cheers,*) and others, first embarked in it, we directed our labours, as a first step, to the abolition of the Slave Trade only, to rescue the injured African from the sufferings it brought upon him, and to wipe away from our country the stain of infamy which such a traffic attached to it. But you who succeed us take a wider

field of labour ; while you keep the same object in view, you endeavour to improve his condition in society, to civilize him, to make him a moral being, to lead him to that most invaluable of all acquisitions the knowledge of Christianity, to improve his country also, and to make him an habitable and comfortable home in his own land. Your plan, therefore, being of this extensive nature, demands the serious attention of every one who has ever felt for Africa, and entitles it to his warmest support. I am, gentlemen, respectfully and truly yours, THOMAS CLARKSON."

I also am directed to read a letter from the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, addressed to the Right Hon. S. Lushington. "I regret extremely that I shall not be able to attend the meeting on Monday, but I sincerely wish all possible success to the Society. The civilization of Africa by peaceful means will not only strike at the root of the Slave Trade, but will in itself be no less a benefit to humanity than the extinction of that odious traffic. Yours, most sincerely, MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE."

MR. FOWELL BUXTON. (*Received with enthusiastic cheering.*)

May it please your Royal Highness. Ladies and Gentlemen,—When I see this vast Hall filled, as I never before saw it filled, to the extremest corner, and when I see this platform how it is crowded, and by whom, and when, above all, I see who it is that occupies the Chair on this occasion, (*Great cheers,*) if my first feeling be, as it is, a feeling of thankfulness and congratulation, my next impulse is, if not to shrink from the task which has been imposed upon me, at all events to offer the most humble apology to this meeting, (seeing the gentlemen by whom I am surrounded,) for moving the first Resolution. But as apologies and explanations would take time, which is this day valuable, I shall only say that it is not my fault, certainly, if I am placed in this prominent situation. I do confess I was somewhat surprised that the members of the Committee, and more especially my old Parliamentary friends, should have placed me in a situation in which it was necessary that I should speak, because I well recollect when I was in the House of Commons the consternation which used to spread from bench to bench when any gentleman rose to deliver his opinions who had already appeared in print upon that subject. Now I advert to this apprehension for the purpose of allaying it ; it is not my intention to yield to the temptation.

I shall give you neither my book, nor any part of my book, but I take this opportunity of saying, that the subject is so large, that really I feel the best thing that I can do is to reduce what I have to say to within a very small compass indeed.

But there is one subject which I cannot omit. I hope it is not out of order—I hope I shall be permitted to express what satisfaction, what intense and unfeigned gratification I feel, and not I alone, but which is universally felt, at the high and distinguished honour which is this day bestowed upon our infant Society. (*Cheers.*) I understand that your Royal Highness has purposely avoided party and political meetings. (*Great cheers.*) That cheer assures me that I may answer for this assembly that there shall be nothing of the kind on this occasion. (*Cheers.*) Differ we undoubtedly do, but not to-day. You see here

assembled persons of every variety of political opinion, and of every shade of religious belief. There may be dissensions, and bitter ones elsewhere, but here I will venture to say you will find us united in one common heart, one common object, one common bond, namely, hatred to the traffic in men. (*Cheers.*)

The resolution which I have to propose is—"That notwithstanding all the measures hitherto adopted for the suppression of the foreign trade in slaves, the traffic has increased and continues to increase under circumstances of aggravated horror, and prevails to an extent which imperatively calls for the strenuous and combined exertions of the whole Christian community to effect its extinction."

You see that we acknowledge that we have been disappointed, defeated, and baffled, but the business of this day resolves itself very much into a single question; shall a new effort and a mighty one be made for the deliverance of Africa? What is the state of Africa? It is one universal slaughter house,—that stands upon evidence, I think which cannot be disputed. What is its trade? Trade in the bodies of its inhabitants. What is its religion? Its very essence is human sacrifice, and so if you look in every direction it is all the same. And then the trade itself,—what is that? Why it sweeps off and mows down multitudes every day in the year and every hour in the day. Thousands are destroyed in those mighty conflagrations, thousands more fall by day in traversing those burning sands. And then there is the slave ship—how is that to be described except in the words of Scripture, "Pestilence stalketh" upon the waters. Nay, it is a well ascertained fact that the very shark knows that barque of blood, and expects to derive from it his daily sustenance; look where you will it is all the same; but I shall not attempt to describe it; if there be one conviction which has been indelibly implanted upon my mind by going through that horrid mass of materials, it is, that it is not to be described—the horrors of Africa are not even to be conceived—the tongue cannot tell them nor the ear of man receive them, and they outrun the comprehension of the mind.

I can speak thus, perhaps, more confidently than most people because I have attempted to give a delineation of the slave trade, but there is no one that feels more strongly than I do how utterly and completely it failed as a just and adequate delineation of the horrors of that traffic. (*Hear, hear.*) I feel I cannot, I know I cannot delineate it. Once more, therefore, I must resort to a picture drawn by an inspired hand, "The whole head is sick and the whole heart is faint, from the sole of the foot even to the head there is no soundness in it, but wounds and bruises and putrefying sores."

I come, then, to the question—At what is it we aim? We do not pretend to say that what we aim at we shall rapidly attain, but we hope eventually to attain it. We aim at nothing less than this—to substitute the very reverse, the contrary, the opposite of what prevails in Africa at present. We aim at peace. I speak this with the more emphasis because a question has been put to me by a very intelligent and able friend of Africa upon this subject. I do say, that as far as our objects extend they are exclusively for peace, and we trust that the effect will be abundance of peace in that country—that peace which shall enable every man to pursue his honest calling at home, or to wander forth from his dwelling when it so pleases him without the

apprehension that the man-stealer is prowling in the neighbourhood ready to pounce upon his children. We aim at industry, that industry which shall till the land and out of the land extract a ransom for the country—that industry which shall cultivate the land and penetrate the forest and delve into the earth and, availing itself of nothing else but the bounty of nature, shall transform the face of the country and spread abroad flocks and herds and harvests and beauty and plenteousness. We aim at something more than industry, and here again I lay some emphasis because upon this also I have been questioned. We want nothing but free labour—we have no intention of endeavouring to civilize Africa by the whip and by the chain. We look, and, as far as our influence goes, our influence shall be employed in extending freedom. We aim at commerce—commerce which will bless both her and us, which will carry away the superflux of the products of Africa and will bring back to Africa what the skill and machinery of this country produce. And we want above all, religion. (*Cheers.*) I say that the more emphatically because upon that subject I have been much criticised, and I have been told that it is “a fundamental error of the gravest character” that I should repose the confidence I do in the exertions and assistance of missionaries. Well, if it be an error to depend upon missionaries, if it be an error to be most anxious for the spread of Christianity not only for its eternal but for its temporal effects, if it be an error to believe that Christianity is not merely the best of civilizers but in one sense the only true civilizer, (*Great cheers,*) if these be errors I stand here not merely convicted but confessing; for these are the opinions which I do hold. (*Cheers.*) Every one looks at a subject deeply interesting to him under his own peculiar and favourite aspect;—mine, I confess, is the idea of Africa visited by Christianity and at length brought entirely under the influence of Christianity.

What is the religion of Africa now? I have recently said that it is not my intention to quote any thing from my own book, but there is one very small almost inconsiderable circumstance which I hope I may have leave to advert to; I do so the more readily because it took place very recently—because it took place in the presence of a gentleman who I suppose is now in this room, and I do it the more especially because it gives me a clear and well-defined picture of what Africa is as to one point. A chieftain had just returned from one of his expeditions where he had been so successful as to capture many human beings and had slaughtered also many. A missionary, the gentleman from whom I heard this story, was present. The chief called to him a little boy—the child came trembling and weeping—he was young, but he was not so young but he had some conception of the terrible fate which overhung him; the missionary took compassion upon his alarm and begged that this child might be given to him—a very slight request in Africa—but it could not be complied with; happy would it have been if it could have been, because that child would then have been reared under the eye of this Christian minister, he would have been brought up with the divine truths placed before him, and he might ultimately have filled, as others in precisely the same situation have done, the honourable position of a minister of religion to his own country. But it could not be, the fate of this child was irrevocably fixed—he was devoted to the Evil Spirit—he was to be offered up. (*Here Mr. O’Connell entered the Hall.*) May I take the liberty of saying one

word; I now discover the cause of the interruption, and I do beseech those who are here assembled, that the cause of Africa may not this day be sacrificed to any political opinion. (*Great cheers.*) I know the honourable gentleman who has just entered the hall, and I will fairly say that a more strenuous advocate than he for the abolition of Slavery there was not. (*Great cheers.*) But give me leave to say this, if this be repeated, and if it is likely that the cause of Africa will suffer by his presence to day, I doubt not that he will instantly retire, because I know perfectly well that his object is to do good to the cause; and if a bone of contention be thrown among us in consequence of his presence, I know that he will absent himself. May I in the name of poor Africa beg that this subject may now be banished, that the voice of controversy may be hushed, that all dissensions for one day may sleep. (*Cries of "Go on."*)

I will take the liberty of proceeding, then,—I think I have stated what we aim at. Now give me leave to state on what it is we place our reliance. I do most thankfully acknowledge that a body of gentlemen have come forward to aid and support this cause, with whom it is a privilege and an honour to act; but at the same time, though I am sure I shall not be suspected of underrating the value of their assistance, yet I must say that our great dependence is not on them. I see this great assembly, I remember the anti-slavery public who fought the battle of the Negro for fifteen years, and brought it to a successful issue; yet it is not upon them, nor is it upon the great Council of the Nation, that our great confidence rests; though in both houses, amidst a thousand questions of discussion and dissension, upon this only is there uniformity of opinion. I look to all these as the implements by which the work shall be accomplished, but I look far higher than to any human agency for the great hope and bulwark of our confidence. If we depended but on human agency, we might be startled indeed when we remember the centuries that that trade has continued, and the interests embarked in it, and the space that it occupies, and the impulse—the love of gold—by which it is impelled, I do say that if we depended only on human influence we might by possibility be disappointed; but strong as all those are, there is a much stronger than those, and I do believe and hope—and I go further—I will with all humility, yet with all confidence, say that I know from His own words, that when we engage in a duty like this, when we look to Him, and to Him only, for our help, when we have but the single object of the benefit of His creatures, His blessing will not be wanting.

But as far as human agency is concerned I will tell you what it is that we do want; we want the hearts of this assembly—we want more than this assembly—we want the hearts and the influence of the people of England; nay, for this is not confined by the seas, we want all Christendom to stand up upon this subject. I am inclined to think that we have been too exclusive in the quarter from which we have looked for assistance: there are a good and a mighty body of friends in America, persons, who after the exposition which has recently been given of the employment of the American flag for the purposes of advancing this traffic (I trust altogether without the concurrence of any one officer of that government)—there are those, I say, who will not let the matter sleep. We have friends in America, then; we have friends in France, and I take the liberty of saying that I have lately seen a good aboli-

tionist, where I believe he has never been looked for before, I mean in the Vatican at Rome. I found the Roman Pontiff reading a pamphlet on the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade; and from his lips I heard, as I had already read in that Bull which is now spreading in Portugal and Spain, Brazil and Cuba—from his lips I heard, expressed in the most feeling language, his astonishment and horror that any man calling himself a Christian could be embarked in that cause.

We want, I have said, the hearts of this noble assembly: there is not in this assembly one individual, from your Royal Highness to the lowest person in it, who cannot render some service. We want every one to do his best; we want the powerful—and I see here many that are powerful—we want the powerful to lend us their influence, and the wealthy to bestow upon Africa their money, and we want the intellectual to give us the help of their learning, and of their influence, and those who have no learning, and no money, and no influence, there is still a province for them; they may pour out their prayer to Almighty God that he would let his blessing rest upon our object and upon our efforts, and upon that critical expedition which is about so soon to hold intercourse with Africa; His blessing on, I will not call them to-day our gallant, but, our Christian friends, who at the peril of their lives will undertake that task, and they may fervently pray that the issue and consummation of this expedition and of all the other measures that are to be taken (for this is but one of them)—that the effect and issue of the whole may be what I will describe in language familiar to many of us, “That peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established amongst them to all generations.” (*Cheers.*)

I feel that it is not for a person so obscure as myself to dwell longer upon these subjects, or to occupy for a longer period the attention of this meeting, and therefore I will bring my observations to an immediate close; but shall I be excused if so humble an individual as myself should express a feeling which I can truly say has long inhabited my bosom, and which is revived most strongly by seeing your Royal Highness in that chair, it is my most earnest and ardent desire that Her Majesty, your Royal Consort, (*great cheers,*) may long reign with boundless prosperity and surpassing glory. I do not forget—who can?—the military triumphs of this country, but there is a road of glory more noble, more illustrious, purer and grander, than the battles of Waterloo or Trafalgar, (*Cheers*)—to arrest the destruction of mankind,—to pour a blessing upon a continent in ruins,—to send civilization and the mild truths of the gospel over a space in comparison with which Britain itself is but a speck upon the ocean. This is the road to true and enduring renown, and the prayer and desire of my heart is that Her Majesty may tread it, (*cheers*) and that, crowned with every other blessing, she may be remembered at a distant day amongst the people of this country as one who was destined, to use the language of a poet of the last century,

“To shine the leader of applauding nations,
To scatter happiness and peace around her,
To bid the prostrate captive rise and live,
To see new cities tow’r at her command,
And blasted nations flourish in her smiles.”

(*Loud and continued cheers.*)

THE LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER. (*Received with cheers.*)

‘May it please your Royal Highness. My honourable friend who has just taken his seat described himself, I will not say how unjustly, as a humble and obscure individual. Humble in his own eyes, but not in the just estimation of others! not obscure, so long as the annals of this country shall last, and the name of that honourable gentleman shall be identified with those of the most strenuous and persevering opponents of the Slave Trade. (*Cheers.*) I rejoice, Sir, that after the exposition of principles, and the details in reference to the projected measure, into which the preceding speaker has entered, it will not be necessary for me to detain your Royal Highness and this meeting at any great length in seconding this resolution. It might, however, be regretted—I for one should regret—if, on an occasion like the present, the opportunity were not embraced of offering an early expression, however inadequate and feeble, of the sympathy of the clergy of the Church of England in this great cause. (*Cheers.*) I cannot but feel, Sir, that it would be a subject of just reproach to the Church, if some distinct manifestation of interest were not evinced. It is due to ourselves, as it is due to the cause, to declare our attachment and our adherence to a Society which has for its object the utter and effectual extinction of the Slave Trade through the medium of Christianity.

If indeed this were a question of politics, then we might justifiably hesitate ere we ventured to thrust ourselves into the fore-front of the battle. But that this is no question of politics in any ordinary acceptation of the word, we have the best guarantee in your Royal Highness’ condescension in taking the chair this day. (*Cheers.*) Or, if it were a mere matter of commercial interest which had called for the support and sanction of this great meeting, we might have left it with propriety to the men who run to and fro, to the men of traffic, and to the men of enterprise, and might have watched the result, not indeed without deep interest, but without anxiety. But, in point of fact, the question at issue is a question neither of commerce nor of politics, properly so called. It is rather a question intimately and inseparably connected with the moral consistency and religious character of the country. And hence it is, Sir, that I must express my conviction that neither I nor my right reverend brethren, who have attended so numerously on this occasion, nor above all the Most Reverend Primate, whose concurrence in this object has been so promptly given in the letter which has been recently read, are out of our proper place in avowing, at the earliest opportunity, our desire to co-operate in the great and good work of the extinction of Slavery through the means contemplated by this Association.

It is, in truth, humiliating to remember that sixty years have now elapsed since the first agitation of this question, and that still it should be necessary to meet again on this day to concert new and remedial measures for the abatement of the evil. It is in truth humiliating to reflect, that in the words of the resolution which I hold in my hand, “notwithstanding all the measures hitherto adopted for the suppression of the foreign trade in Slaves, the traffic has increased, and continues to increase, under circumstances of aggravated horror.” It is humiliating to reflect that these should be truths too notorious to need demonstra-

tion, notwithstanding the fact that so long ago as nearly at the beginning of the present century Great Britain prohibited all her subjects from engaging in the Slave Trade. Under these circumstances it is impossible to deny the high responsibility which attaches to this country. I trust that the proceedings of this day will go far to lay the foundation of a great and judicious measure which eventually shall accomplish something worthy of that debt of accountability, which, as a nation, we have incurred. I trust that with that knowledge of the facts which the experience of the last half century has taught us, we shall not hesitate to act according to our duty for the suppression of the grievance. And with this knowledge, possessing, as we possess, the power, (*Hear, hear,*)—for shall it be said that this country, the Mistress of the Seas and the Queen of the Waters, has not the power?—having at once the knowledge of the facts, and the power to remedy the evil, it would be a national reproach to the country if there should be practically a refusal to attempt to apply the remedy. And a remedy for what? We must not disguise the fact. The traffic has not been extinguished—has not even been diminished; but, by the latest accounts from which any estimate can be correctly formed, the numbers exported have increased, the destruction of human life, and all the guilt and misery consequent thereon, have been fearfully augmented; and at the same time it may be stated that the numbers exported from Africa are, as compared with the year 1807, as two to one, and that the annual loss of life has risen from seventeen to twenty-five per cent.

With these views I cordially desire to join in the proceedings of this Society. I hail the measures which it is proposed to adopt under the union of strength which will be formed this day. I rejoice in seeing that the blow is aimed—not for conquest—not for mere national aggrandizement,—not for the depression of national enemies,—but against barbarism in Africa, the real root of the evil, and in behalf of Christianity, in opposition to the false religion and superstitions of idolatry and sin. On these grounds, in the name of the Church of England, of her clergy, and of her people, I heartily wish all prosperity to the undertakings of this Society, and bid it good speed in the name of the Lord. With these feelings, Sir, I cordially second the resolution. (*Cheers.*)

MR. FOWELL BUXTON.

His Royal Highness has commanded me to read to you the Resolution, which having been done—

The Resolution was put and carried unanimously.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE STEPHEN LUSHINGTON.

May it please your Royal Highness. Ladies and Gentlemen—I shall not detain you by any apology. I am here upon compulsion, it is true, but I am a willing slave in your cause. I should have been glad if some other individual had undertaken the task assigned to me. The resolution which I am now about to propose to you is connected with that which has already been stated by the two speakers who have preceded me, and it is almost a necessary consequence of the facts already premised, for we state in this resolution that every attempt by treaty, by remonstrance, by naval armament, having failed—it becomes the duty

of this country to exercise its ingenuity to discover some new plan, some novel mode of proceeding standing upon higher principles, whereby the great object never to be abandoned may in time be finally achieved. (*Hear, hear.*)

We come to the consideration then, first, of the reason which has given birth to this Institution, and then, to the principles and the common bond which knits us together. We are instituted because the trade in human beings is not merely continued, but is hourly and daily augmented; because in extent of human suffering, in duration of time, in depth of guilt, a more appalling defiance of the first ordinances of God was never exhibited since the world was created, and that defiance too and those acts perpetrated not by those who are buried in the depths of heathen barbarism and pagan idolatry, but by those whose pride it is to know, to acknowledge, and to profess their belief in an eternal God and a Saviour, who indeed do not deny him, but defy him. (*Hear, hear.*)

When this Institution first originated, and when it was proposed to unite and combine together persons professing such infinite diversity of opinion, it was necessary to lay down some common principle which should keep us together in good faith, and unite us for the purpose of accomplishing our end. We were all of us well aware that, had it been practicable, it would have been infinitely more desirable that certain great objects should be attempted to be attained in other and different ways, but we knew, and it would be folly and absurdity to conceal the fact for a single moment, that persons professing such difference of religious persuasions never could honestly unite for the introduction of Christianity upon any common basis and principle. We knew that, as there were Churchmen, Dissenters, members of the Society of Friends and Roman Catholics, it was not in the wit of man to frame a system in which they could all cordially combine for that purpose; but remember the words of our prospectus, that though with unfeigned regret we were under the necessity of abandoning the idea of directly and immediately attempting to introduce Christianity by this Society, we one and all, without a single exception, united in the expression of our firm conviction that the evil would never be overcome until Africa had abandoned her Pagan rites, and become a Christian people. (*Cheers.*) So again, with respect to education, the same difficulty occurred, but we all knew this, that, whether we spoke of the introduction of Christianity, or whether we spoke of spreading knowledge in other and different forms throughout the Continent, there were societies and bodies, when once the road was opened to them, which would embrace that object, and would carry it with certainty into effect.

Now it is right that I should say also, because we should be deprived of some of our most valuable friends and assistants if the slightest doubt remained upon one point—this Society proposes to do nothing by force or by fraud; let that be distinctly understood. I never will, acting as a member of this Society, violate that common bond which has tied us together. But that does not fetter us as individuals; because I act as a member of this Society, and in that capacity never will attempt to effect the object by means repudiated at the time we united at the foundation of the Society; yet I scruple not to say as an individual, I am bound by nothing but my own consciousness of what is right, and individually and separately I am at liberty to follow that course. (*Hear.*)

Now, is it said that we have laid our foundation on limits so narrow that little good can be expected to result from such a combination? Why, the forest must be cut ere the church can be built; the swamp must be drained ere the stately palace can be erected; the road must be opened, and exertions however energetic, however benevolent, however well-directed, must have that road opened to them before it be consistent with possibility that they should succeed. We then are the humble pioneers in this road; we seek the civilization of Africa; we seek to commence that great work; we seek to abolish the Slave Trade by extinguishing the great motive to its continuance—the insatiable lust of avarice, by supplying to the inhabitants those necessaries, those comforts, those conveniences in a mode which no human being can offer an objection to, instead of their being purchased by the blood and the misery of their fellow-creatures.

Can we suppose that no effect will be produced from such a combination? Can we suppose that the nations of the continent of Europe will not feel, and will not acknowledge, and may they not imitate the example set them this day? I have the honour to witness present here the representative of one of the greatest nations in Europe (Monsieur Guizot) (*Cheers.*) I hail his presence as an auspicious omen, (*Cheers.*) and I trust that he will convey to his Sovereign and to his Country an adequate representation of the feelings and the unanimity of the present meeting. (*Cheers.*) I trust, and why should I doubt? that it will produce its effect. Why should that nation, highly educated, informed as well as any that inhabit the globe, professing substantially the same common creed with us all,—why should not France emulate England in this great undertaking? (*Cheers.*) Here are no petty squabbles about islands or divisions of territory; here is no selfish or sordid motive to divert man from the impulse of his just feelings, or to lead him to seek for himself, or for his country, more than she is justly entitled to; here is a common ground in our endeavours to abate the greatest infamy that ever yet desolated the world. I hope for France, I pray for France, as our first and noblest coadjutor. (*Cheers.*)

But are there no other grounds upon which I may be permitted to indulge a sanguine hope? Is it nothing to announce to the world that a meeting has been held here, crowded to suffocation, containing within it not one separate party, great as that might be; not merely the Bishops and Archbishops of the Church of England, or those who may be nearly connected with them, but every species of Christian, every one who acknowledges the common cause of Christianity? (*Cheers.*) And when I speak of politics, I have not words to express the sincere gratification and inexpressible pleasure which I derive from seeing those to whom I am opposed in politics taking so active a part upon the present occasion, and more especially that we are graced by the presence of one who presides at the head of this great meeting. (*Loud cheers.*)

Sir, amongst the various methods which have been suggested for the diminution of this traffic—for I am happy to say that the minds of hundreds and of thousands have been occupied in endeavouring to discover modes whereby it might be, if not entirely subverted, at least kept within bounds—I think it right to bring to the consideration of this meeting a proposition founded upon actual experience in those

countries,—I mean the proposition which has lately been enunciated by Mr. Turnbull, in his work upon Cuba. In that work he has stated the extent of the trade, the mode in which it is carried on, and all its dreadful consequences. It appears to him, that were it to be possible that the Spanish Government would consent, which they have not hitherto consented to, to allow a Mixed Commission Court there, not simply to inquire into the condition of the slaves when they are captured at the entrance to the river, but after they have been once imported into that country, that such a commission might be established, and he having lived in Spain, is sanguine in his belief that it would tend much to subvert the existing system there. Now, we, as a society, cannot embark in that undertaking; but it is well deserving the consideration of those who think that no rational means ought to be neglected, but ought to receive the most careful examination before they are discarded, if they tend to the accomplishment of our common end.

Sir, I feel how wrong it is for me to trespass further upon the attention of this great meeting; but I cannot refrain from adding my last hope that your Royal Highness will never repent the day when you were so condescending as to take the chair at this meeting, (*great cheers*.) when you think and know the impression that must be made by this great assembly, and by him who is at the head of it; when you think that it may, and, under the blessing of Providence I trust will, be the commencement of the achievement of that great work which, I trust God in his Providence has reserved for speedy accomplishment in the reign of your Royal Consort.

Ladies and gentlemen, the resolution that I have to propose to you is, "That the utter failure of every attempt by treaty, by remonstrance, or by naval armaments, to arrest the progress of the trade, and the exposure recently made by the publication of Mr. Buxton, of the deep interests which the African chiefs have in its continuance, as the means of obtaining European goods and manufactures, prove the necessity of resorting to a preventive policy, founded on different and higher principles." (*Great cheers*.)

THE VENERABLE THE ARCHDEACON WILBERFORCE. (*Received with loud cheers*.)

May it please your Royal Highness,—I well know, whatever may have been the case with preceding speakers, to what it is that I owe the high and perilous honour of seconding this resolution. I well know that it is from the desire of your Committee to interweave with these your first revived efforts in this great cause that name which they have already so kindly greeted, and the honour of which I wish that I was more able to support this day. (*Cheers*.) But this much, at least, I may say without presumption, that however my tongue may fail fitly to express them, the sympathies of my heart are truly with you; (*Cheers*.) and it is, Sir, no small pleasure to me to find myself by this resolution joined in this great cause with the name of Mr. Buxton,—with the name of one to whom, as I well remember, with undoubted confidence, in preference to all the great political names to whom the leadership in this great contest might have been handed on, it was the settled conviction of my honoured father (*loud cheers*) that he could most safely and most certainly commit this trust. He knew well, Sir, with whom he

had to do—he knew the single, settled, clear purpose with which that honourable gentleman, disdaining for an instant to make this high cause an instrument of personal aggrandisement, would pursue, through good report and through evil report, the trust which he had undertaken. With him, therefore, I rejoice to act herein; and I would take up some remarks which fell from him, because it seems to me necessary over and over again to impress them upon this meeting. I confess, Sir, that the title which we have necessarily assumed seems to me to require this perpetual guard. I mean our putting forward, as we are compelled to put forward, that our hope for the suppression of the Slave Trade depends upon promoting the civilization of Africa. Because, Sir, I think, without continually reminding ourselves and others that by civilization we mean that superstructure of results, the foundations of which are laid in true Christianity, we may possibly be introducing amongst our earliest schemes the seeds of certain and of signal failure. I dare, Sir, to avow it, and I trust that this meeting will accord with me in the declaration, that I think any other civilization than that which is based upon and carries out Christianity is the merest futility which ever mocked the expectations of men. (*Loud cheers.*)

Many in this meeting will remember what civilization did of old in that city of the earth (Athens) which had reached the highest pitch of merely human culture when the hand of God was laid heavily upon it, and the pestilence was mowing down its ranks,—we know well that then in that city, in spite of all its professed superiority over other nations, there was exhibited the most fierce, the most savage, the most inhuman, and the most deadly hatred of man to man; that then every bond which binds the links of life together was at once dissolved, and that man only saw in his fellow man one upon whom he might securely prey; so, Sir, I believe it will be ever in those who trust to such human instrumentality to do that which nothing but the presence of God can effect indeed, (*Cheers,*) and therefore I do hail it as an omen for good when I look round upon this vast assembly that it declares, as far as I can judge from its expressions, with one accordant voice, that its trust for success herein is founded upon this, that the Lord of Hosts is on our side. (*Loud cheers.*)

But then your Royal Highness will allow me to say a few words upon another branch of the subject, which has not been, as it appears to me, sufficiently enforced. There may, at first sight, seem to be a sort of contradiction to what I have said in declaring that we look to this “preventive policy,” and the introduction into Africa of European goods and manufactures, as instruments for the suppression of this trade; there is, however, no contradiction in this proposition. Though we trust altogether to Christianity to do the work, yet who can have looked at the history of the spread of Christianity hitherto without observing that God has used secondary instruments as the means of introducing Christianity. I believe that the very cause and origin of commerce was planned in the counsels of God for this single purpose. I believe, Sir, that the reason why England does not produce the spices of the East, and why the East does not yield the various natural productions of England, is simply this, not that the great Father of all grudged his gifts, not that there was any stint upon the prodigality of his giving,—but that he would thus provide a series of necessary

causes which would lead nation to trade with nation, and so to interchange their commodities with each other: and then, Sir, that Christianity which has a natural tendency to exalt a nation in the scale of nations should become the mark and distinction of highly civilized and highly commercial powers, and so that they should have the opportunity and power which other than commercial nations cannot have, of carrying the blessings of civilization to every part of the earth (*Cheers*); that every stream of commerce should bear upon its bosom the inestimable boon of everlasting life (*Cheers*); that from no part of the earth should we receive only without giving; that we should repay for the gold of the West, that we should repay for the spices of the East, the more precious wealth, the more blessed frankincense of the knowledge of Christ our Master. (*Cheers.*)

But, Sir, not only does this general proposition establish the duty of hallowing our commerce so as to make it the instrument of introducing civilization and Christianity, but we English people owe also the repayment of a specific debt in this subject of commerce to the continent of Africa. It is a principle with which every one of us is familiar, that in every article of commerce whatever, the demand necessarily creates the supply. How is it when we go to any uncivilized country of the earth, we find its inhabitants abounding in natural riches, the use of which they do not know! We find them abounding in gold, and using it as it were mere outside tawdry tinsel. So, too, of the gems and other riches of the earth; they know not the value until we teach it to them by offering to them in exchange for these other things of which they know the worth. Then immediately they begin to esteem their natural productions as the instruments of commercial barter, and thus by bringing a demand we create in that country a supply. And oh! Sir, how awfully have we in Africa abused this power which God has given us to traffic. For what did we do there? We took those rude people our manufactured goods, the use of which they could appreciate, and we taught them that we would not exchange them for the gums, or spices, or ivory with which their forests and their plains were stored; but that if they would put forth their hand against their brother and capture him—if they would look with the eye of cupidity upon every one who dwelt around them—that then, and then only, they should become rich in the wealth which England could bestow on them. We carried to them the demand for human victims, and we, a Christian people, created the supply. (*Hear, hear.*) Now then, Sir, if this has been our guilt, how distinctly is the duty laid upon us that, through the instrumentality of commerce, we should undo the evils that we have caused; that we should go to them and say, “Not by trafficking in human flesh, but in lawful traffic, shall you possess the manufactures of England—not as heretofore, by casting an evil eye every one upon his brother, and lying in treacherous ambush to seize upon his victim, to throw him into bonds, into misery, and into death; but by using the natural opportunities which a gracious Providence has given you to create a lawful trade—you shall become possessed of these articles which you desire.” Such should be our language; and therefore, Sir, the ground is clear, I think, before us. We acknowledge distinctly that all our hope is in Christianity; but, we also acknowledge that our commerce owes this debt, and that it may be made an instru-

ment which, as has been well said already, will open a road into Africa. Not that we believe that the opening of the road will change the heart of any of its sons, but that the opening of the road there will permit the entrance of that gospel which does give light unto the eyes. (*Cheers.*) I for one, Sir, highly as I value these efforts, should not have dared to have been present to-day if I did not believe that the church to which I am conscientiously attached was ready when this road was opened to traffic along its coast with those blessed, those best possessions, the knowledge of Christ Jesus and the ordinances of his church on earth. (*Cheers.*)

I do then venture, Sir, to anticipate great things from the movement which, as I believe, under God's blessing, we have now begun. There are, I think, many favourable prognostics for the termination of our achievement. Sir, who is it that makes men to be of one mind in a house? Who is it that has given us unanimity to-day? Who is it that has stilled the rising voice of discord, and proclaimed in louder notes than those of him who spoke them, that upon this day at least there should be amongst us "the peace of God;" that we would unite where we could unite, without compromise, knowing that in such union there is strength.

When, Sir, I say this, I do not mean to flatter myself or this meeting with the expectation of a speedy issue to our labours. I have learnt—the history of the abolition of the Slave Trade might teach it to the slowest learner—that no great works are to be done for God or man except by faith and patience. Sir, is not greatness, indeed, another name for faith, as patience is its first-born child? We must, Sir, patiently labour upon the faith of great principles, looking certainly for future recompense. Oh! Sir, it was this conviction (if your Royal Highness will allow me to refer to it) that throughout many a toilsome day, and many an anxious night, animated the heart and upheld the steps of him whom in this matter I desire earnestly to follow. (*Cheers.*) Well, Sir, do I remember those words, those prophetic words, which he spoke in answer to some expression of early expectation from a more sanguine fellow labourer: "Not so speedy is to be the result of our efforts—I look for no present success—I know well that the voice of self-interest, drowned for a moment in the first outbreak, in the united acclamations of awakening humanity, seems wholly hushed, but that it is only to revive again when that burst of acclamation is over—I know that the voice of self-interest is steady, sure, prevailing, and that it must be long before we can put it down;" but then he ended, lest any heart should droop, "but I look to the end with hope." As a reverend friend reminded me yesterday, he said to him in private many years ago: "Yes, all is now adverse to us, and the voice of public opinion is so loud against us that we can scarcely get a hearing, but let me live a few years and that voice will be as general and as loud upon our side." (*Cheers.*) Your Royal Highness, who has been happily spared hearing that voice of discord to the true notes of humanity in this land, Your Royal Highness will judge whether you have not come in time to see the fulfilment of the prophecy, and to know that the united acclamation of Christian England declares that Africa shall be set free for ever. (*Loud and long continued cheers.*)

On these principles, then, and with this good hope, I would beg all

present solemnly to devote themselves to the work—not, Sir, as to any light thing which they may take up to-day and to-morrow throw aside, but as giving here to humanity, to Christianity, to manhood, this great pledge, that, God helping them, they will never slumber or be at ease until this foul blot has been wiped off from the earth. We bid you, indeed, to labour; but if you thus undertake the work, we dare to bid you to a triumph too,—to no mere earthly triumph; to no pageant of a day, bought by past and future years of suffering; to no shouts of an intoxicated populace, echoed by the groans of broken hearts which clog the chariot wheels of an hateful exultation; but to a true triumph, in which the acclamations of an enfranchised continent shall be the chorus which attends you, in which you shall be followed by the exultations of a fourth part of the human family, set free from mutual hatred and suspicion; from enslaving and being enslaved: a triumph, the chariot-wheels of which are peace, *because* their guide is righteousness. I beg to second the resolution. (*Loud cheers.*)

Dr. Lushington put the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR ROBERT PEEL. (*Received with long continued cheers and waving of handkerchiefs.*)

May it please your Royal Highness,—It would have been much more agreeable to my own personal and private feelings, to have taken a silent and perfectly unostentatious part in the proceedings of this day. There is something painful in appearing at this time to claim a share in the triumphs of those who have devoted their lives and their best exertions to the furtherance of this cause, and to whom exclusively is due the honour and the virtuous fame of having struggled in the advancement of it when it was beset with real difficulty, and it is only because some of those who have been its early and consistent friends—because such men as Mr. Buxton, who began the proceedings of this day, and as he who has just concluded an address, proving to you that he inherits, not only the name, but the virtues and the eloquence of his father. (*Loud cheers.*) It is only because men like these have expressed a wish that I should take an active part in these proceedings, that I have overcome my own scruples, and have deferred to the opinions of those who must be the best judges of what is for the advancement and the interests of this cause. And, Sir, they have imposed upon me the gratifying but most difficult task of attempting to embody in becoming language, that which is the unanimous feeling of this great assembly, the sense of grateful acknowledgment to you, Sir, for having undertaken to preside on this occasion, and that higher and purer feeling of unaffected delight, that you have auspicated and sanctified your first appearance (*loud cheering*) in the arena of public discussion by manifesting a cordial anxiety for the advancement of a cause in which the lasting interests of humanity and religion are deeply involved. And, Sir, that feeling which I have to convey to you is not the exclusive feeling of an assembly which the narrow limits of these walls can contain; this meeting is the fit organ and fit representative of the whole people of this country. (*Cheers.*) This meeting, attended by persons of every religious persuasion, of every shade of political opinion, fitly represents to you the universal feeling of a great people. That people, in a time of great financial difficulty, submitted, without a murmur, to

extraordinary pecuniary sacrifices for the purpose of purifying themselves from the stain of any participation in the horrors of the Slave Trade and the complicated evils of slavery. Having done this, having rescued themselves from the suspicion of any low, venal, interested motive, they now feel that they can hold a language to the nations of the world, on the subject of the Slave Trade, which cannot be misunderstood and cannot safely be disregarded. At the same time, they do not conceal from themselves the mortifying truth that, while they have vindicated their own character, there is but too much reason to believe that they have not succeeded in diminishing the sum of human suffering inflicted by the detestable traffic in slaves; nay, that in some cases that suffering may have been aggravated by the attempts to suppress the traffic.

Since I came into this room, a document has been placed in my hands which I feel it my duty to notice. It comes by a happy accident, at a moment, when it may most effectually serve to convince this assembly, and through them the people of this country, that notwithstanding the grant of twenty millions for the extinction of slavery, there is need for continued and increased exertions in the cause in which that great sacrifice was made. I want to bring home to your minds the conviction that by that grant of twenty millions you have done little more than rescued your own character from imputation. (*Cheers.*) This is no document prepared by an Anti-Slavery Association; it is a merely commercial paper; it professes no sentimental feelings, but contains a dry business-like record of commercial transactions. It is dated the 17th of March, 1840, and is called the Shipping List of the Cape of Good Hope. One half of the two sides of this commercial paper is devoted to the capture or the shipwreck of slave-vessels. The heading of one of those articles of intelligence is the following, "Portuguese Slavers, further Captures;" and then follows a detail of the captures of vessels employed in the Slave Trade. Under the head of Shipwrecks of vessels so employed is the following afflicting report:—"January the 24th.—During a hurricane from the south-east, two slavers, a ship and a brig, were wrecked at Mozambique Harbour, but the crews of both, and two hundred slaves on board the brig, were saved. The ship had arrived the preceding day and not taken in any slaves. It was reported of the brig, which was commanded by a Spaniard, that she originally had on board nine hundred slaves, but during the hurricane in the prosecution of her voyage the hatches were battened down, and on opening them it was discovered that three hundred of the slaves had died from suffocation and want of food. (*Hear, hear.*) The gale continuing, the hatches were battened down a second time, the consequence of which was that an additional three hundred slaves perished from the same causes, and one hundred of the remaining three hundred slaves died on the passage to Mozambique Harbour." And with these shocking proofs of mortality before the eyes of the captain of this vessel and crew, what was the course which they pursued? "They returned to Mozambique Harbour for the purpose of getting a fresh supply of slaves."

Now, Sir, until we shall have rescued Christianity and the character of white people from the grievous infamy of such sins as these, we never shall succeed in that great object to which the Reverend Gentleman who preceded me has adverted; we never shall be able to convince the black population of Africa of the moral superiority of their Euro-

pean fellow men; we never shall convince them of the truths of Christianity, if the nations which profess it shall continue to tolerate and sanction such monstrous iniquities as these. (*Cheers.*) I say, therefore, that it is necessary that a great effort should now be made by this country for the purpose of giving full effect to our own past exertions and sacrifices, and, above all, for the purpose of preventing that fatal example which will be set—an example so discouraging to virtuous exertions and virtuous sacrifices in future—if it can be alleged with truth, that such exertions and such sacrifices, however meritorious in intention, have not only practically failed, but have aggravated the very evils they were meant to remedy.

There will be difficulties in the execution of this great scheme. I am not sanguine as to immediate success, but I do confess I have that confidence in the righteousness of this cause, (*cheers.*) in the conviction that it must meet with the Divine protection and blessing, (*cheers.*) that I look forward with sanguine hopes to its ultimate and complete triumph. I feel assured that the moral influence of this country, that its voice unanimously expressed in favour of the first rights and duties of humanity, will, in the first place, so nerve the arm of the executive government, that it will compel other countries, at least to fulfil the obligations of positive treaties, (*cheers.*) and that it will ultimately effect that much greater object of making Africa herself the glorious instrument of effecting her own deliverance.

Sir, it is from the prevalence of such feelings, and such hopes as these, that the present meeting has originated, and we do feel, Sir, and I may be at liberty to state (you will not be displeas'd at the language of truth when I state respectfully to you) that the position which you this day occupy in this cause, and in the front, as it were, of the whole United Kingdom, is not unworthy of the illustrious station in which you are placed on the right hand of the throne of England, (*Loud cheers*)—it is not unworthy of that high character which at an early period of life you have been enabled to establish, and which is well known in the remotest corners of this empire, (*Cheers.*) by the combination of virtuous conduct and high mental acquirements and accomplishments. It is not unworthy of those precious recollections which you are entitled to cherish on account of the services and sacrifices of your ancestors in a glorious cause. (*Loud cheers.*) We do feel that it is not unbecoming this high station, these present advantages, these proud recollections of the past, that you should be called upon with your own hand to lay the corner-stone of an enterprise which has for its object to rescue Africa from debasing superstitions, to extinguish slavery through the introduction of the arts of civilization and of peace, and to rescue Europe, and the white race, and the name of Christianity, from the pollution of a crime which, while it continues to exist, ought to forbid us to indulge any feelings of triumphant superiority over that unhappy race which we seek to exalt and to make worthy of freedom by teaching it to value the privileges and attributes of freedom. It is not by war—not by force—but by teaching the natives of Africa that the sweat of their brow and the labour of their sinews, directed to peaceful industry at home, will be more profitable than the vile traffic in blood; it is by teaching them that lesson, by an appeal to their own interests, by exhibiting the absence on our part of every low, sordid, interested feeling, that we hope ultimately to triumph, and we feel assured that

it will make an impression upon the mind of a barbarous people when they shall hear, as they will hear, and can understand, that the illustrious husband of the Queen of England made an exception in their behalf from the wise rule which prohibits his attendance at meetings of a political and party character, and made his first entrance into public life, at least into public discussion, in the character of a zealous advocate for the total extinction of the traffic in slaves. (*Long continued cheering.*)

MR. FOWELL BUXTON.—There is no seconder to this Resolution; every one who approves of it will stand up in testimony of their approbation.

All stood up.

His Royal Highness, after bowing in acknowledgment of the expression of the meeting, withdrew, amidst the vehement and repeated acclamations of all present.

On the motion of Dr. Lushington, the Earl of Ripon was called to the chair.

THE LORD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

I should grieve exceedingly, my Lord, if a resolution of so much importance as that which has been submitted to my charge should be offered irregularly to the meeting through my absence, however unavoidable; I rise, therefore, though exceedingly pressed for time by an official engagement which I cannot forego, to offer a few words in support of it. I cannot, indeed, reconcile it to myself upon such an occasion, however pressed by this necessity, not to do my utmost to support and encourage this great assembly in the humane and mighty work which is begun this day, and which, I trust, will never cease till it has been completely successful in the attainment of its object.

And first, my Lord, I am desirous of directing the attention of the meeting to a passage read to you in the letter of the Most Reverend the Primate, in which he expresses an apprehension once entertained in his mind, and which, had it not been removed, would have prevented his accession to the Society, viz. that this Association, as it is now constituted, might lead to some scheme of colonization, or at all events to the establishment of a footing and interest in Africa, which should either immediately or finally lead to some commercial or national object of a lower nature than that which is set forth to us.

My Lord, I feel very strongly in common with the Most Reverend Prelate in this matter; and I trust that it may always be remembered by the Society, and by all that are connected with it, that they are pledged to one great object, the civilization of Africa, with a view to the extinction of the Slave Trade; that on this object they are bound ever to hold themselves deeply and strongly intent, and that with Christian singleness of purpose they should repudiate from every part of their proceedings anything that might taint them with the suspicion of cupidity or selfish gain, while they are holding forth to the world an end so noble and so exalted.

My Lord, we are very well acquainted with the fact, that it was chiefly the insatiable desire of gain which first led man to enslave his brother man, and which has been the means not only of promoting all those atrocities of which we have heard to-day, but a thousand others which are recorded in the history of this traffic, to the disgrace of the nations of Europe, and especially of our own; and if we, as an Association for

extinguishing slavery, should be induced, either at the commencement of our operations, or at any future stage of our proceedings, in consequence of our connexion with a commercial or agricultural company, to permit this principle to become a prevalent, or even an important feature of our design, we could never expect the blessing of Almighty God upon labours which hold out humanity and religion as the motives, but which would be likely to terminate in the advantage or aggrandisement either of individuals or of the country at large.

My Lord, the distinguished Senator who has last addressed you, detailed to you, from a paper which had just been put into his hand, a very dreadful description of a slave ship, and the miseries to which the negroes pent up in it were exposed; from which the painful inference was justly drawn, that notwithstanding the daily and nightly watchings and labours of so many eminent men in the country for a long period of years; notwithstanding the sacrifices we have made, and above all, that costly one of twenty millions, which never could have been assented to but in a free country; that, notwithstanding these sacrifices, the Slave Trade is daily and hourly proceeding in its course with as much cruelty and atrocity as were ever before witnessed at any period of its history.

Now, my Lord, the gentleman who moved the first resolution declared, that he would take nothing from his own book, but we are not bound to the same caution, and if there is anything in that work which is calculated to strengthen the arguments produced at this meeting, (and much I know there is,) I see no reason why it should not be brought forward by others. The question has, within my memory, been frequently the subject of warm discussions in both Houses of Parliament; and I have never been an inattentive observer of what has passed there, for though I cannot say (I wish indeed I could) that I have been a prominent supporter of this great cause, like Mr. Buxton and others, yet, for half a century, I have never omitted any occasion, according to my humble means, of contributing to the same object, and have put my hand almost to as many petitions against slavery since that time as years have passed over my head.

Looking then, my Lord, to the details of that work respecting the present state of the Slave Trade, and comparing them with the statements made in the House of Commons by Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, when they were anxiously competing with each other in combating this atrocious traffic, we come at once to the conclusion which has already been laid before the meeting, that the Slave Trade is now carried on upon a greater scale, and with circumstances of greater horror, than it was at that time; for while it appears from those debates that seventy thousand persons were then annually torn from their families and friends, and carried across the Atlantic to a degrading state of captivity, we find at the present moment, from statements which cannot well be contradicted, and which are in a great degree confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in his letter to the Treasury, that one hundred and fifty thousand slaves, or more than double the number, in fact, that had been exported before, are now obtained by the most flagitious means from the native princes in western Africa, and carried to the settlements of Spain, Portugal, and other countries, which still persist in the purchase and degradation of their fellow creatures; but what adds to the flagitiousness of this fact is, that in order to enable the slave merchants to carry one hundred and fifty thousand victims into this state

of enduring bondage, four hundred thousand, in addition, annually fall a sacrifice. The wars and expeditions which are undertaken expressly for their capture; their cruel treatment under the captivity to which they are at first subjected; their harassing marches to the sea-coast; the grief arising from the loss of friends, of parents, and all that is dear to them; and finally, the sufferings from the crowded state of the vessels, much more severe now than when the traffic was less watched, cause a mortality of nearly three times the number of those who reach the settlements. (*Cries from the extremity of the Hall* "We cannot hear.")

My Lord, I feel that I am not heard; I wish with all my heart that I could be heard in this cause, not only to the extremity of the Hall but to the extremity of the kingdom, aye, to the extremity of the world. (*Cheers.*)

There is one thing, however, upon which I am anxious to express my mind to the meeting before I sit down. You are about to embark in a great Christian undertaking, (and I trust that every one present is prepared to contribute towards it,) in which you must be prepared to meet with obstacles and difficulties and disappointments of every kind; you will have to contend with the arts and cunning and cupidity of men, with every bad passion of human nature armed with authority and influence; you will have to contend with principalities and powers, and you will stand in need of all that patience and self-sacrifice and exertion can bestow; but be of good cheer, as the venerable successor of the most laborious and persevering advocate of the slave has said, the blessing of God will be with you.

It must be remembered, however, that it is by human means that the great purposes of Providence are brought about, and under this impression it will be pleasing to the meeting to be assured that the expedition now contemplated by Government, to which we look forward as the commencement of our proceedings, is intrusted to an officer possessed of every quality which can entitle him to the confidence of the country, and afford a promise that every thing will be effected that can be expected from a person in the important position in which he is placed. In confirmation of this opinion, I venture to lay before the meeting a statement of facts which, while they throw light upon the atrocity of the slave-trade, will demonstrate the complete fitness of this officer for the command. A few years ago when in command of the *Curlew*, on the coast of Africa, and engaged in watching the slave-trade, he was made acquainted by the American Consul with an atrocious act of piracy committed on the high seas upon an American ship called the "*Mexican*" by the crew of a vessel which was carrying on the double business of a slaver and a pirate, a double business indeed, but of manifold wickedness and atrocity, who had plundered the vessel and set fire to her after putting her men under the hatches. Happily—happily I may say for the ends of justice as well as for the welfare of those poor people—the Providence of God interfered, and they were snatched from the destruction to which they had been devoted, by the opportune appearance of another vessel that came in the way. Well, my Lord, when Captain Trotter became acquainted with the facts, he took such measures as were best calculated to follow and seize the pirate, and with such skill and caution was his plan conceived and carried into execution that he came upon her in his boats almost by surprise while she was lying in a small river called the Nazareth in the

Bight of Biafra. The crew, consisting of seventeen men, escaped, however, in their boats upon the first intimation of their danger, first setting fire to a train which communicated with the magazine. Captain Trotter got on board the vessel and extinguished the fire before the explosion could take place: it might then have been fairly considered that the duty of this officer, looking to the nature of the country around, had been fulfilled, and his object been attained as far as it was practicable; but Captain Trotter thought otherwise; for many months he pursued the pirate crew up the rivers and along the coast; he followed them from place to place and from one people to another, with the most untiring energy; he negotiated for their surrender with the native princes, with some of whom they had taken refuge, and with the European authorities in the neighbouring islands who were scarcely less disposed to conceal them, and never ceased his hazardous and laborious efforts till he had obtained possession of every one of them. It is right to add that they were finally sent to America and tried by Judge Storey who, in his charge to the jury, pronounced on Captain Trotter an honourable and well-merited eulogium for his humane and gallant exertions, while, as a testimonial of the sense entertained by the American government of the services thus rendered to the commerce of their country, he received the thanks of the President of the United States. (*Cheers.*) It must appear, therefore, to the meeting, that not only the professional character but also the local knowledge of this officer is admirably adapted for such a command; and when I add, too, that his moral and religious qualities stand high in the opinion of all who know him, there needs no other recommendation to give confidence to all who are desirous to assist in contributing to this great cause.

My Lord, I propose the following resolution: "That this policy is to be found in the civilization of Africa by the introduction of Christianity, by the promotion of legitimate commerce, and by encouraging the cultivation of the soil upon a system of free labour."

SAMUEL GURNEY, ESQ. (*Received with cheers.*)

Fellow countrymen,—It is also due from me to make an apology for appearing amongst the great orators whom we have had before us this day. But in all things there are great and less, on which ground I have satisfied myself in thus appearing before you. The resolution which I now second, and which has been moved by the Bishop of Chichester, embraces three points. First, That a way by the proceedings of this Society may be made in Africa for the introduction of the greatest good—Christianity. There are also two important points, though comparatively of secondary consideration,—the one, the cultivation of the soil of Africa; the other, the encouragement of legitimate commerce.

Now I do differ in a certain degree from gentlemen who have already spoken to you, especially Sir Robert Peel, whom while I readily acknowledge that I am inadequate to follow, yet I cannot help, in opposition to him, anticipating speedy results to some important extent from the expedition about to be undertaken under the auspices of this Association.

I will first take up the subject of commerce, stating as a preliminary, that I believe it will be found in all human proceedings, that there is no policy so certain and sure as that which is based on Christianity

(*Cheers.*) The two points to which I have alluded, and which are included in my motion, are clearly good fruits resulting from our Association, thus based on the great principle of doing unto others as we would wish they should do unto us. Now it is by no means improbable, but it amounts almost to a certainty, that the commercial resources of Africa will be increasingly developed, greatly to the good of that continent and to the benefit even of ourselves. I have been engaged in the business of this country now for no very small period of years, and I have seen great changes in commercial matters, and especially as it relates to Africa. The commerce which has already commenced with that continent is by no means even now a very mean one. It has been very profitable to those engaged in it. It is gradually increasing, and it presents one attractive feature in this its infant state, that it mainly consists in our receiving from them, if I may so say, the spontaneous productions of the soil, articles produced without much labour, the rich products of the forests, their gums, their oils, their ivory, and many other articles which might be specified. Now the great object of our Society is to turn the commerce of Africa, the labour of Africa, into legitimate channels, that Africa may export articles not the spontaneous produce of nature only, but fruit of their own labour applied to their fertile soil, under their fine climate; thus causing their immense power and property in labour to yield an increase infinitely beyond what they now derive from supplying the demands of the awful traffic which it is the object of our Association to suppress. This is, in fact, the principle and object of the Society we are now about to establish.

I may here say that it is no Utopian notion that great changes take place in commerce, or that these important changes may take place in African commerce. I may point out several articles which are of great importance in the commerce of England. For example, indigo, only a few years ago, was the growth of one quarter of the globe, and is now produced altogether from another. I may take the article of fine wool, which at one time was furnished from Spain. Now, we cease to import from that part of Europe, and our supply is mainly derived from Germany, with this exception, that a large and increasing portion comes from Australia. Fifty years back it would have been thought equally visionary that our supply of fine wool should come from the wild regions of Australia, as it may now be thought that indigo, cotton, sugar, and other articles of similar growth should be supplied from Africa, where there is a fertile virgin soil, a fine climate and inexhaustible supplies of cheap labour. If then the history of commerce shows that articles so vary in the locality of their production, why may we not witness a supply of cotton and other articles from the soil of Africa? (*Cheers.*)

So far from deeming this chimerical, or that it will take much time before great changes may take place, it is my opinion that these may be brought about in a much shorter time than many apprehend. Should this be the case, and should Africa discover the value of her own labour applied to her own soil, we may reasonably hope that she will be less and less willing to sell her people for exportation as slaves and for a mere trifle. Far be it from me to say, that with a population in the state in which Africa is, it will be unattended with difficulty to turn their misguided exertions from the channel in which they

have hitherto been directed, to a legitimate and proper application. I know difficulties will arise, but I have a confident hope they will not be insurmountable; and based as our proceedings are on doing unto them as we desire that they should do unto us, I do think it is not only possible, but highly probable, that very great changes will take place, and that before any very long period.

Permit me to point out one or two points highly favourable towards the promotion of these views; here is a continent vastly populous, quite beyond calculation, active in their habits, far from averse to commerce. Why should not artificial wants be introduced amongst them? I think it is highly reasonable it will be so, and that they may be stimulated to that commerce which we so much desire to promote, as one means of introducing civilization amongst them, and of preventing that horrid traffic in which they are now so largely involved. The objects, then, of our Association, are abundantly worthy of the support of the illustrious Prince who has presided this day, and of the Queen's government, not only as going to the root of that grievous evil, the Slave Trade, but as directly tending to promote and strengthen our commercial and manufacturing interests.

There is the other point in the motion which has been made by the Bishop of Chichester, and which I am about to second, to which I must briefly allude, namely, the introduction of Christianity into that vast continent. I cannot doubt that it is the blessed instrument which more than any other will tend to the success of our endeavours. What is the ground that we take? The disuse of the musket and bayonet, and the use of the olive branch. Who can doubt which will turn out the more powerful of the two? (*Cheers.*) Based as the proceedings of our Association thus are on the principles of Christianity, and imbued as we all are with one mind upon this point without any distinction of sect or party, I do think it is more than probable that it will become a road upon which Christianity will advance in Africa, and that we may indeed rely with confidence for a blessing upon our labours. Surely we may anticipate, and with no faint trust and reliance, that it will be one means of advancing that day when the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. (*Loud cheers.*)

MR. FOWELL BUXTON.—Will you allow me to read a letter which I received a day or two ago, but which I did not choose to introduce while his Royal Highness was present. "My dear sir, I have received the commands of His Royal Highness Prince Albert to request that you will place his name on the list of Subscribers to the Society for the Extinction of Slavery for a donation of one hundred guineas, and an annual subscription of ten guineas."—Signed, G. E. ANSON. (*Loud cheers.*)

I take this opportunity of adding other names. His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, 50*l.*; the Lord Bishop of London, 25*l.*; the Marquis of Breadalbane, 20*l.*; John Smith Wright, Esq., one hundred guineas; William Clowes, Esq., ten guineas; the Lord Primate of all Ireland, 25*l.*; the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, 20*l.*; David Barclay, Esq., 100*l.*; and several others. Unfortunately, I forgot to state, what is the most material point, that subscriptions will be received in the Committee Room, and at the bottom of the stairs. I have to announce that the Noble Chairman has also sent a subscription for 50*l.**

The Resolution was put and carried.

* See also List of Donations and Subscriptions in Appendix.

THE EARL OF CHICHESTER.

My Lord Ripon,—I have been requested to move the following resolution, “That, in the opinion of this meeting, Great Britain is required, both by every consideration of sound commercial policy and by the higher motives of Christian obligation, to exert all her influence and all her power for the effectual suppression of the Slave Trade, and that the means proposed by this Society, in accordance with the principles recognised in its Prospectus,* and in the preceding resolution, appear eminently calculated to conduce to the attainment of that great result, and are therefore entitled to cordial approbation and support.”

My Lord, it was natural upon an occasion like this, that those devoted feelings of affection and loyalty, which I believe to be felt by every truly British heart towards the illustrious individual who has recently occupied that chair, coupled with that deeper and dutiful loyalty which is also felt towards our gracious Sovereign, should have shown themselves by general and perhaps I might say, by somewhat irregular acclamations. My Lord, it was also natural that those speakers who have taken a part in this meeting, animated by similar feelings, should one after another allude to the same topic, and congratulate themselves and this meeting, and indeed the whole Christian world, upon the happy event of His Royal Highness's presence amongst us. Therefore, perhaps, I also may be pardoned for alluding to the same subject, and expressing, feebly and inadequately as I do, the joy and thankfulness to Almighty God which I feel in common with the people of this country, that the efforts of this Society should be so providentially encouraged by the presence of His Royal Highness at our first public meeting. (*Cheers.*) I rejoice to think that His Royal Highness should have witnessed this great union of the Christian feeling of the country in so noble a cause. I, for one, do not think that this union of Christians, differing so much as we unhappily do upon many things—I do not think that this union, now so happily displayed, will (at least in regard to the great work in which we are engaged) prove to be a transient one. For, my Lord, I think we are justified in believing that it is the result of a common feeling of Christian responsibility, a conviction that, as Christian men, it is our duty to go forth upon the errand of our Master, and wherever we know of ignorance, of distress, or of bondage, there to go forth with the message entrusted to our care, for the remedy and redress of those evils, wherever they may exist. I believe, too, that we are sensible of our share in the guilt of that common wrong committed by our country. I trust that the union of the different parties, which we this day see, is the result of a *national* humiliation on account of wrongs in which we have participated, and of miseries which we have in part been the cause of prolonging.

If such then be the feelings which have brought us together, I do think we have an evidence that God has graciously led us to this union, and that he will enable us to hold together by the same principles, and zealously apply ourselves to that department in the work of civilizing and Christianizing Africa, which is undertaken by this Society. I feel,

* Vide Appendix A.

my Lord, that I am one who owes it to this meeting, more than any other who has yet addressed them, to apologize, for trespassing at all upon their time and patience. (*Cheers.*) But, my Lord, I think I have been called upon, not from having hitherto taken any prominent part, interested though I have been, and deeply interested, in the cause of the abolition of slavery, but because I am officially connected with the Church Missionary Society; and because this Society, as has been plainly shown this day by the language of its resolutions, and by the principles upon which they have been supported, would have it known, that it recognises the bounden duty of preaching the gospel to the heathen in Africa. (*Cheers.*) That department of Christian charity is not indeed taken up by this Society, but I can confidently assert of many of those who have taken a prominent part in its formation, that they would not have bestowed their time, their talents, and their prayers upon it, were they not convinced, not merely that it would be ultimately followed, but that it would be simultaneously accompanied by a corresponding effort on the part of our Missionary Societies. In an age like this, for a civilized and an educated Christian nation to think it possible to succeed in our object; to imagine that we could introduce the blessings of commerce and the arts of peace, that we could civilize and refine a barbarous people, without making use of Christianity, the great means which God has entrusted to us for this end, would indeed be the extreme of folly. It would be to disregard those lessons of ancient lore, to which the Reverend Archdeacon has alluded, and which teach us how little can be done for the happiness and peace of society by any effort of man unassisted by the light of Divine Revelation. It would be to disregard the surer lessons of God's own word. It would be to disregard another affecting lesson which all of us might have learned, and which many of us, I trust, have learned; I mean the lesson which God has taught us in the history of modern missionary efforts, and of modern colonization. For it is recorded, upon the most unimpeachable evidence, that every attempt which has been made, either to colonize or to civilize, without a concomitant effort to introduce Christianity, has most signally failed. While, on the other hand, we know equally that wherever we have honestly undertaken to carry the message of salvation to the heathen, there, almost simultaneously with the progress of religious light, has gone on the work of civilization. (*Hear, hear.*)

It is, then, because I am confident that this Society acknowledges this great truth, and that it looks mainly for the attainment of its object to the use of this great and only sure means, I mean the preaching of Christ to the benighted nations of Africa, that I can ask and expect the blessing of God upon their undertaking, and that I can give it my cordial co-operation and support. (*Cheers.*) I trust that the work in which the Society is more directly concerned will succeed. There seems every reason to believe that it must do so. I believe that the feeling which has been produced at this meeting will pervade the great mass of the people of this country, and amidst the prayers of millions, which I trust will be offered up, I have the confident expectation that ere long we shall see some fruit from our labours. I said *our* labours; I should rather have said, the self-denying and unwearied labours of those who have gone before us, and in the same great cause,

into whose labours it seems to be now our privilege, but our solemn responsibility, to enter.

My Lord, I have the honour of moving the resolution which I have just read.

THE HONOURABLE CHARLES LANGDALE, M. P.

If, my Lord, those who have already addressed the meeting thought it necessary to apologise for appearing before you, it cannot be wondered at that I deeply feel the necessity for such an apology; indeed, my Lord, nothing but one circumstance should have induced me to have appeared before this meeting, and that I know to have been the ground that has induced the Committee to call upon me to support this resolution; it is to convince this meeting that that which has been stated over and over again is true, that in the great object that we have now at heart there is no distinction of political opinion, that there is no distinction of creed. However, my Lord, I might have doubted for one moment, some time ago, as to this proposition, I do feel that the kindness with which you now permit me to come before you is a testimony that that proposition is fully carried out. (*Cheers.*) I am aware that after the lengthened addresses that have been made to you, I cannot presume to add anything new upon this interesting subject; not one word, sir, can I conceive to have been urged in support of that system which we have now met to put down; not one line can I, my Lord, conceive it possible that, even in the recesses of the closet, any man would be bold enough to trace, to defend, or to palliate that iniquitous traffic. (*Applause.*) Nay, my Lord, my imagination cannot conceive to me the shadow of an argument to be urged in support of the atrocities which we have met to finally exterminate.

My Lord, the resolution I am about to second does present a subject to me which I would, with the permission of the Meeting, shortly call to their peculiar attention; it is "That Great Britain is required by the higher motives of Christian obligation, to exert all her influence and all her power for the effectual suppression of the Slave Trade." Now, my Lord, what is the nature of that obligation which is laid upon this great country? I say, my Lord, and I utter it not in reproach, that that obligation arises from the unfortunate participation that we once had in this iniquitous traffic. It is but a few years back that the last remnant of this possession of man in the person of his fellow man, was blotted out from the code of the laws of this country. It is owing, my Lord, to those great individuals who have been already alluded to, that the first extirpation of the Slave Trade was effected. And, my Lord, deep and heavy is the penalty that this nation has paid, though I think most justly paid, for the share it had in that traffic; but though the Slave Trade has been legally abolished, and though the possession of man in his fellow man has been paid for, yet, as is always the case with crime, the consequences still remain, and we are responsible for the effect that has been produced by our past misconduct in this respect. We owe a deep debt of obligation to those who were once accomplices in our crimes, to exert our utmost efforts to turn them from that course which we have happily abandoned; we owe a deep debt of obligation and reparation to those unfortunate inhabitants of Africa, who only knew from us the gross oppressions that we practised upon them.

Now, my Lord, as in the case of an individual, in proportion to his high station—in proportion to his resources—a deep responsibility hangs upon him in the course of his virtue or his vices; so I hold in the case of nations, that in proportion to their power, to their extensive dominions, and to their resources, a deep responsibility hangs upon the mode in which they avail themselves of those gifts. And what has Africa known of the pride, and the boast, and the dominion of this great country? What has it known of the boast of our civilization, of our arts, of our sciences? What has it known of that Christianity which has so long reigned in this happy land? Why, my Lord, in one instance it has only known and heard of our power too long. but to suffer and be subject to the dominion that we forced upon them; it has only known of our civilization by the means that it afforded us of exporting those unhappy inhabitants across the waters of the Atlantic, and fastening still more securely the fetters that bound them to a foreign country; it has only known, my Lord, of that Christianity which we profess by the violation of every precept that it teaches; nay, by the grossest violation even of that law which is implanted in the breast of the savage,—the law of nature. (*Cheers.*)

I say then, my Lord, in the words of this resolution, we are called upon to teach the unfortunate people of this country, to impress upon them our power and our dominion, by protecting the unfortunate, by forbidding the injustice that would oppress them; we are bound to let them participate in our civilization by the introduction of commerce into that country; and finally, my Lord, we are bound to make them sensible of the true and the benign influences of Christianity by introducing amongst them that first and most blessed of all its injunctions, "peace and good will among men." (*Cheers.*) Without trespassing any further upon the attention of the Meeting, I beg leave cordially to second the resolution. (*Cheers.*)

The Resolution was put and carried.

The LORD ASHLEY, M.P..

My Lord,—it may appear almost presumptuous that among such a number of persons so long and so nobly distinguished by their labours in this great cause, I should have undertaken the duty of proposing a resolution to the notice of this assembly. I can offer in apology nothing more than that I was unwilling to decline that which I was requested to do, and that the anxiety which I feel for the successful issue of this great enterprise has proved far too strong for my better judgment. But having taken upon myself this charge, I cannot but exult in the favour that I anticipate for the resolution that I shall have the honour of proposing; in the noble spirit exhibited by this Meeting, and in the aspect it will present to the whole country and to the world. The most ardent patriot must be satisfied in contemplating such an assembly as this, formed, as it is, of all ranks, from the greatest to the least, and composed of every variety of opinion, concurring, nevertheless, to merge all their several differences, and join in one common and one mighty effort to wipe out the foulest blot which ever stained the fair face of Christendom, and the biggest wrong that ever afflicted any portion of mankind. (*Cheers.*)

My Lord, I shall be extremely short—it would be impertinent and

useless to recapitulate any of those details with which, both from publications and from the speeches to-day, this Meeting must be well acquainted. We are all agreed upon the facts, we all experience the same horror and shame; we are convened to-day, not to learn the full extent of the evil but to propose a remedy. The remedy, my Lord, though novel in practice is ancient in principle, we are not only to keep down an evil, but in its stead to implant a good; to suppress this horrible traffic in the slave, but advance the business of the husbandman and the missionary, and demonstrate to the rulers of that fertile but benighted country that, even if they rise to no higher views, it will be far more profitable to keep their subjects at home, than to ship them across the seas to distant suffering. (*Hear, hear.*)

My Lord, we may be told that we shall fail in our experiment—I do not believe it—but be it so, the experiment is well worth the trial. (*Cheers.*) The British nation has now for many years been baffled in its noble and its righteous endeavours; but if our perseverance be equal to the magnitude of the cause, and our faith be but equal to our perseverance, we cannot fail of a successful issue, knowing and believing the authority which has told us “not to be weary in well doing, for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not.” (*Cheers.*) For, my Lord, for what other ends has this country received the greatest and the most numerous blessings that ever yet descended upon any nation? To what nobler purposes can we turn all the various gifts of a most bountiful Providence, our power, our science, our wealth, our freedom, and above all our Christianity? (*Cheers.*) What we now seek is settlement without dominion, and commerce without profit. (*Cheers.*) The dominion which we seek is the dominion of humanity and truth, and our profit will be the honour of God, and the eternal and temporal welfare of countless millions of the human race.

Fail! my Lord, to be sure we may fail, but is it not better that we should fail in such an attempt than that we should sit down here idling and do nothing at all? (*Hear and cheers.*) Is it not better, I say, that we should fail in such an attempt, rejoicing in that Divine assurance, which once comforted a great monarch in Israel, who himself was disappointed of his dearest hopes, “Whereas it was in thine heart to build an house unto my name, thou didst well that it was in thine heart.”

My Lord, it is, therefore, with the most heartfelt sympathy, that I now propose to this Meeting the following resolution: That this Meeting earnestly and solemnly appeals to the whole Christian community to further the operations of the Society by pecuniary contributions, by private and public influence, and by all other means that are legitimate, in the prosecution of a purpose dictated by humanity, approved by sound policy, anxiously desired by the country, and undertaken in the humble hope that the blessing of Almighty God will be vouchsafed to its labours. (*Cheers.*)

THE REV. GEORGE CLAYTON.

My Lord, ladies and gentlemen,—I rise certainly with great diffidence but with unfeigned satisfaction in the presence of this great meeting to second the resolution which has been ably and eloquently moved by the noble Lord who has addressed you. Were I to follow in the footsteps of preceding speakers, if they deemed it right to apologize for

their presence to-day among you I have more abundant cause to do so, but I confess, my Lord, I have no apology to offer, except it be this, that the cause is my apology. (*Cheers.*) I am a man, and nothing that involves the dearest interests, the hopes, the happiness of man, I trust, will ever be foreign to this heart. (*Loud cries of Hear, hear, hear.*) Under any circumstances I should have felt the greatest difficulty in selecting words to express the sentiments I entertain of the incomparable magnitude and importance of the object which has brought us together, and to recommend it to the decided countenance and strenuous support of the meeting,—an object which is nothing less than to declare a war of utter extermination against slavery in whatever place and in whatever form it is found to exist; (*Loud cheers;*) a war without truce or amnesty, a war which will not admit of even passing into winter quarters, a war which we shall urge with determination and unflinching perseverance till the deadly mischief against which we are confederated shall be seen lying breathless at our feet. (*Cheers.*)

My Lord, that was a glorious day for Britain when she determined and declared that so soon as a slave set his foot on her shores, drank of her fountains, and breathed her air, that from that moment he should be as free as any native-born subject in the King's dominions. (*Cheers.*) That, my Lord, was a more glorious day for Britain, when, after years of tempest and of toil, after a long and most arduous struggle in which there were moments when "hope deferred made the heart sick," when, after those previous struggles it was enacted by the British Parliament that, so far as her colonies were concerned, Slavery should be no more. And notwithstanding the much-controverted boon of twenty millions given under the form of compensation, (a topic which I shall not now venture to touch, as regards the policy of the thing,) but notwithstanding that enormously large sum, I have always considered that it exhibited a noble spectacle, when a great commercial nation—a money-accumulating nation, and, forgive me for saying a money-loving nation—rose superior to the parsimony of lucre, and was willing to subject itself to a voluntary tax of so large an amount in order to realize its cherished object, at the bidding of justice, of humanity, and of religion. (*Cheers.*)

But, my Lord, in the vista of the future I think I see a day of still greater glory beaming upon my native land. I anticipate great results from the proceedings of this hour, and I trust I shall not be accused of indulging visionary and romantic feelings when I venture to say that in these days of accelerated speed, and of facilitated communication by railroads and steam-vessels, when "Quick march" is the order of all our movements, I anticipate, at no great distance, a period when, not within the precincts of Britain alone, not merely within the limits of the colonies she calls her own, but in every portion of the world, acclamations of gratitude and shouts of triumph shall rend the skies—"Slavery is fallen, is fallen to rise no more. (*Cheers.*)

I ground this confidence upon the elementary principles which are worked up, and are to be worked upon, in the proceedings of this Society. They are principles of immutable truth and importance, and must ultimately, I persuade myself, insure universal triumph. They are the great principles of justice and benevolence, justice to much-injured Africa, to whom we owe, in common equity, the

payment of those long arrears which are stained by the blood of unnumbered millions—and benevolence, which forbids us to say “Am I my brother’s keeper?” Humanity and Christian love compel us to undertake the great work in which we are embarked, and believing that “charity never faileth,” I cannot but anticipate that proceedings founded upon those immutable and eternal principles must ultimately prevail. I am accustomed to look more at principles than at means, though I acknowledge that means are of great importance. Only give me sound principles, a right foundation upon which I may rear my superstructure, and I can trust for the stability and advancement of the edifice. (*Cheers.*)

I feel also assured, my Lord, that the interests of this Society have already taken deep root in the public mind. Who can doubt it? No man can value more highly than I do, or appreciate more entirely, the advantage of princely patronage and protection, but I have read “Put not your trust in princes, nor in the son of man in whom there is no help; his breath goeth forth, he returneth to the earth, in that very day his thoughts perish.” I have still greater confidence in the principles of the nation, in the people at large, in the great masses of mind, which form themselves in the various grades of the body politic, and I speak the honest conviction of my mind when I say that a determination to emancipate Africa, to civilize Africa, to Christianize Africa, and to make her fertile plains and her teeming mountains tributary to the great cause of freedom and of human happiness, is not less embedded in the minds of the British people, like a firm tessellated pavement which no mattock or pickaxe can displace, than it is enshrined in the affections of the people. The Society is already enthroned in the heart of the nation, and I doubt not that the liberality of public contribution and the fervour of Christian prayer will in due time abundantly demonstrate the truth of these prognostics.

I gain a further ground of confidence in this view of the case, my Lord, from the felicitous specimen we have in our own colonies of the great benefits resulting from emancipation. We can all remember how many there formerly were who, with raven note, boded ill as to the practical results of the enfranchisement of the slaves in the West Indies. I know not what spectres of gigantic terror were not foreseen by some, revolution, anarchy, massacre, and blood. We were told that we should presently have our colonies devastated and our commerce destroyed, and that when we should have conquered a solitude all around, we might call it peace. I ask, have those predictions been verified? I point to Antigua, I point to Jamaica, and I ask, how has the system worked? (*Great cheers.*) How is it working? how does it promise to work? Consult the negroes now walking erect in conscious freedom, and they will tell you. You will now see them taught to appreciate the liberty you have bestowed upon them, and to improve it to the best and noblest purposes of civilization and of religion. I take great encouragement from this experiment, and rejoice in the complete success of our humble efforts in the cause to which we are this day pledging ourselves anew.

My Lord,—if I wanted still stronger ground of confidence on this subject, I would point to the present meeting, a meeting in all its circumstances such as perhaps one never yet beheld. We have to-day

seen men, as it has been repeatedly said, of the highest grade, both of intellect, of rank, and of influence, assembling here as on common ground to bear their testimony against slavery, and to carry forward the benefits of civilization to the long-neglected inhabitants of the African continent. Is not this a spectacle calculated to revive one's spirit in these days of dissension and difference? Is there not a strong under-current of good pursuing its silent course in the midst of these conflicting waters, and shall it not eventually show itself on the surface, and bear down all prejudice and animosity, till it shall convey us, one and all, to the wide ocean of harmony and love?

May I be permitted to say, my Lord, that I hold it good when, on any occasion, persons who are opposed in party and in denomination are brought to co-operate with each other, because it is obvious that fraternalization in one great object is likely to soften asperity and to promote union with regard to other important objects. I believe it to be good for men to meet on common ground, and to cultivate those kind affections upon which our present exertions must be based in order that they may be successful. I remember, my Lord, to have read in ancient story, that when the border wars were carried on with great activity in this country, a dying borderer sent for his opponent, on his death-bed as it was supposed, in order to shake hands with him, and to request that they might forget all their former feuds and disputes in an act of mutual forgiveness; but, said the dying man, while he grasped the hand of his old antagonist, "Mind, if I get better this is not to hold good; we shall recommence the conflict as in the days of yore." I devoutly supplicate the God of peace that no such feeling may ever pervade our minds. I trust we shall agree to differ where differ we must, and that we shall always unite and concentrate where with advantage we can, and as we do happily at the present moment.

I need not say that my confidence is still increased upon this subject when I find how the chair is filled at this moment by a Noble Lord of high talent and influence in the country, who both here and in the right honourable House, of which he is a distinguished member, has so respectably and so usefully performed his part; and when, too, I consider how the chair has been filled in the previous hours of the meeting, it is indeed a most gratifying feature of the proceedings, that the illustrious Prince who, as it has been said, is placed by Divine Providence at the right hand of the Throne, has been induced to consider it his duty and happiness to preside over us this morning. I consider it as a testimony of great value borne to our cause, a testimony which will go forth to the east and to the west, to the north and to the south. It will be known that Prince Albert, the consort of Britain's Queen, has taken the chair at this meeting; it will tell in Germany, it will tell in France, it will tell among all the nations of the Continent of Europe, it will tell across the Atlantic, (*Cheers,*) and among our western brethren, whom from my heart I pity, because they are entangled in a net of sophistry, in which many of our own predecessors were themselves entangled; for I remember, when yet a boy in my father's house, on the occasion of an entertainment being given to a West Indian merchant, I heard it gravely contended from the Holy Scripture that slavery was a perfectly correct system, and I heard it said that those, among whom was the very honoured individual to whom so just a tri-

bute of applause has been paid this day, that those individuals who were conspiring for the extinction of slavery were, forsooth, removing "the old landmarks." Slavery an old landmark! Yes, my Lord, old enough to be abolished, and old enough to become for ever obsolete. (*Cheers.*) If this be to remove the old landmarks, may they all be up-torn from their roots, pulverized to the smallest atoms, and given to the four winds of heaven to be conducted into the immensity of space. (*Much cheering.*) But we have seen here the Prince borrowing lustre from the British Throne, reflecting back that lustre upon our high and holy cause. You have seated him in the car of freedom, and I cannot doubt that he will go forth from conquering to conquer. You behold him with all the dew of his youth upon him, giving pledge of his devotion to the best welfare of Africa. God grant that he may long live and witness the high consummation of the cause to which he has given the flower and the promise of his early days!

But my chief hope after all rests not in the people, not in the Prince, but in Him who is "the Prince of the Kings of the earth," and who has "on his vesture, and on his thigh, a name written King of Kings and Lord of Lords." On his omnipotence our hopes rely; to his favour we look in humble dependence, and in earnest supplication that it may please Him to prosper our endeavours, and to crown them with desired success; that at his bidding "every valley may be exalted and every mountain and hill be made low, the crooked things straight, and the rough places plain; and all flesh may see the salvation of God, as the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. (*Cheers.*)

The resolution was put by the Chairman, and carried unanimously.

THE MARQUIS OF NORTHAMPTON.

My Lord, a resolution has been placed in my hands, which I will now take the liberty of reading to the meeting; it is to the following effect: "That in order to promote the interests of this Institution throughout the kingdom, it is expedient to establish Societies auxiliary to it, and in regular correspondence and connection with it, as extensively as possible; this meeting therefore pledges itself to strenuous efforts for that purpose, and earnestly invites the friends of Africa, of every religious persuasion and political opinion, to adopt such means in their respective neighbourhoods as may contribute, under the Divine blessing, to its prosperity and success."

My Lord, before proposing this resolution, I may perhaps be pardoned if I allude for a moment to the last occasion when I had the happiness and pleasure of seeing His Royal Highness Prince Albert before I saw him in the chair this day. Upon that occasion, my Lord, I had the honour, in conjunction with the Earl of Aberdeen, to receive at the door of Somerset House His Royal Highness, for the purpose of his being received into the Antiquarian and Royal Societies. My Lord, upon that occasion His Royal Highness identified himself with the sciences and with the literature of England, but now he identifies himself with far higher principles, he identifies himself with a nation's humanity, with a nation's religion, with a nation's love of freedom and hatred of oppression.

Though I feel how unworthy I am to address you after the very great eloquence which I have heard from others, yet I confess I have been rather anxious to address this meeting, on account of the situation

which I happen now to fill as President of the Royal Society, as I wish to state on the part of the science of England, that it not only identifies itself with the humanity of England, but that it feels how greatly inferior in value science itself is to the principles of humanity and justice. On the part of that science, and on the part of the science of the world, I must confess I feel deep shame that science, even for its own objects, has not interfered long ago to aid in the prevention of that which is a disgrace to it, namely, that one quarter of the world should be unknown to it, and unknown to it on account of the crimes there perpetrated. (*Cheers.*) It is upon this ground that I have been anxious to address you, and not upon any idea that I can say any more than has been said to you already.

But, my Lord, perhaps you will excuse me, and perhaps the Right Reverend Prelate, the Bishop of Chichester, will excuse me, if I say I differ with him upon one point. He said that upon one occasion a vessel doubled the crime of Slave Trade by the addition of piracy. For my own part, my Lord, I conceive that the Slave Trade far more than quadruples the crime of piracy; for, my Lord, where have we ever heard of any piracy that has devastated a fourth part of the globe, and that has carried off five hundred thousand human beings? When we talk of five hundred thousand human beings, we form to ourselves a most inadequate idea of the misery that is inflicted by this accursed, this devilish (I was going to say) traffic. Every one of those victims individually had friends and relations, and when we think of the physical horrors that accompany the passage from Africa to America, we are too apt to forget the moral horrors, the feelings of dreadful internal anguish and alarm suffered by the fathers and mothers, the brothers and sisters, and the husbands and wives, of those unfortunate persons who are thus torn away. It is to those feelings, I think, we ought still more to address our consideration than to the mere personal sufferings of the wretched captives themselves, great and aggravated and dreadful as they are.

Ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which has been placed in my hands, calls upon you, calls upon every one of you, calls through you, upon the whole British nation, to make efforts in conjunction with this Society, and I am quite sure, from the feeling which has been evinced to-day by you all when responding to the addresses of every one who has addressed you, that you will respond to this appeal, and that you will go forth carrying the cry of this meeting to the very extremity of the empire, for the purpose of rousing every man to make efforts on its behalf. Though it may be a proud thing to meet so many of my fellow-countrymen together upon such an occasion as this, yet it is most assuredly an occasion of deep humiliation when one considers that the great nations of Europe have all declared for a number of years their abhorrence of this traffic, and that that declaration has not been contradicted by any one, yet, that in spite of that declaration of the whole of those nations whose power would have been great to inflict evil, that power has not been great enough to prevent it. My Lord, I must confess it is a reflexion, as it appears to me, deeply humiliating that the united nations of Europe have been unable to prevent the Slave Trade from not only existing, but flourishing. I hope, however, that the efforts of this day will be an era in the history of the abolition of the Slave Trade, and that other nations will, from what passes here to-day, feel themselves called upon in some degree to emulate the example that has been

set by England. My Lord, I have great pleasure in moving this resolution. (*Cheers.*)

The LORD VISCOUNT HOWICK. (*Received with much applause.*)

My Lord, ladies and gentlemen. When I came to the meeting this morning I certainly did not anticipate that I should be called upon to take any other part in it than that of showing by my presence on this platform the deep interest which I feel in the success of this Society, and my abhorrence of the system of slavery and the Slave Trade, against which your efforts are directed; that abhorrence which I cannot refrain from observing in passing, has been so greatly strengthened by what I learned during my official connection, which I had the pleasure formerly of having with my noble friend in the chair when acting under his orders in the Colonial Office. It was my fate to see and hear more of the distressing effects and cruelties, and the miseries resulting from slavery, than I could at all have imagined, and I shall ever be proud that, in the subordinate situation which I then occupied, I co-operated with my noble friend whom I now see in the chair; and I had the satisfaction of carrying into effect his instructions in promoting those measures which were designed, and which had the effect of preparing the way, for the abolition of slavery in the British Colonies. (*Applause.*) I say I did not expect when I came into this room that I should have been called upon to take any public part in your proceedings to-day, but as I have been asked to do so by my honourable friend who sits near me, whom having formerly followed as my leader in the cause of the abolition of slavery, I am happy to follow again in the cause of the abolition of the Slave Trade. Having been asked by him to take this part, I will not permit any diffidence of my own to prevent me, and I consider myself bound to obey his orders even when I may wish that they had been otherwise.

My Lord, I feel that so many hours have elapsed since this numerous Meeting has been assembled, and that those speakers who have preceded me have so entirely exhausted the topics to which they have adverted, that I will not attempt now to say one word to excite still further the anxiety of all who hear me, to put an end to the system of the Slave Trade, nor shall I say anything as to the means by which we propose to accomplish that great object. It is sufficient for me to say that I entirely concur in the opinions which have been expressed, that those means which this Society propose to adopt are the only means which, as far as human foresight can extend, are likely to lead to the attainment of the desired object. (*Applause.*) But all I wish now to do is, to call the attention of the Meeting to that particular Resolution which it is my duty to second. The object of that Resolution is to encourage the formation of Auxiliary Societies corresponding with your Central Society, and that this may be considered as a Meeting co-operating with it for one common object. Now, undoubtedly, it appears to me that this is the most useful means that could be adopted for ensuring our success. If we look back to the history of the abolition of the Slave Trade, can any man fail to perceive the immense and powerful effect which was produced, not only by the Anti-Slavery Society of London, but by the system which was then adopted, and in which my honourable friend near me took so great a part, viz.,

organizing and establishing subsidiary and corresponding societies all over the country. At the time that Society was struggling for an object upon which great difference of opinion existed, the country was then divided, great interests were against us, and not only were great interests against us, but many persons sincerely and honestly believed that the measures recommended by those who desired the abolition of slavery would be injurious even to the slaves themselves. Many persons supposed that it would have been a rash and probably a fatal act to strike off the fetters from the limbs of the slaves who had so long borne them. This difference of opinion necessarily caused the proceedings of that Society to be mixed up with a great deal of acrimony, a great deal of bitterness and controversy, and gave rise to discussions and dissensions, which necessarily indisposed many persons to take any part in it. But now the case is different; no British interest is opposed to the measures which we have in view, no opinion of any man or of any political party, or any individual belonging to any political party, is opposed to the measures we propose. There may be persons who in their hearts desire to continue the disgraceful profit which results from the infamous system of the Slave Trade, but throughout the civilized world, I think there will not be found one person bold enough to assert that our object,—the civilization and the improvement of Africa—is not both great and laudable. (*Applause.*)

I feel confident, therefore, that by the co-operation of many men and of many different minds, all directed to one common purpose, and which the formation of societies throughout the country will be one principal means of causing, that a great effect must be produced by those means, and it is on that account that I have the greatest pleasure in seconding the Resolution which has just been proposed, in the full conviction that if we succeed in civilizing Africa, not only shall we put an end to the Slave Trade, but we shall very soon put an end to the system of slavery itself. (*Applause.*) If the Slave Trade is abolished, slavery then cannot long continue to survive. (*Applause.*) It must fall, not perhaps by any violent measures, or by the immediate action of any society of this kind, but it must fall as the necessary and inevitable effect of the establishment of enlightened and civilized industry in Africa; it must fall, for it is utterly impossible that the extorted labour of slaves in any part of the world can long compete with that of free-men.

I feel, my Lord, that I have very imperfectly discharged the task which I undertook, but at the same time I feel that it would not be proper for me to detain so numerous a Meeting, I will therefore conclude by expressing my hearty concurrence in the Resolution which has just been moved. (*Cheers.*)

The Resolution was put by the Chairman and carried unanimously.

THE LORD VISCOUNT SANDON.

My Lord, ladies and gentlemen. I should not have undertaken the task which has been imposed upon me, if I had not felt that there were one or two reasons which would have made it ungracious in me to refuse. I was unwilling to refuse to give in my person the public adhesion to the great object which you have in view, as well as to the means chalked out for its attainment of that great commercial community with which I have the honour to be connected. That community,

the foremost in every enterprise in which the industry of this country has embarked, I am sorry to say, before the Slave Trade was held in that just abhorrence in which it is now held by every Englishman, was foremost in the pursuit of that traffic which it is the object of our Society to extinguish in other nations, as it has been in our own; but when the voice of the law had given its sanction to the appeals of humanity, and had erased the trade in man from the list of lawful trades, when that trade was at length forbidden by human law, as it had long been forbidden by the laws of God, that community abandoned, as I may say, without exception and at once, the unlawful traffic, and has since been as honourably distinguished in the energetic pursuit of enterprises of legitimate and useful commerce along the coast of Africa, as it had been forward in other days in the iniquitous traffic which formerly disgraced its character.

Indeed, ladies and gentlemen, in the very first step which your Association has suggested, the merchants of Liverpool have been the pioneers. A few gentlemen in that town were the first to take advantage of the discoveries of Lander by sending steam-boats up the Niger, and thus endeavouring to open commercial intercourse through that great channel into the heart of Africa, and to extend along its waters that civilization which is its usual concomitant. That expedition, I say, of honourable trade, though unsuccessful itself, has been the pioneer to that more extended effort in the same direction which the nation is now about to undertake, and in which, I believe, we shall ultimately see the realization of the ardent hopes which we have formed, that the great commercial means of this country may be made subservient to the civilization, and the only true basis of civilization, Christianity, in that benighted continent. It is for this purpose only, as I said before, that I have obtruded myself upon your notice.

The appeals which have been made to you by other speakers have fully developed the object which you have in view, and have secured your concurrence in the means by which it is to be attained. I have now the humble task of pointing out a part of the machinery through which this Society proposes to act. In this country, when an object is in view for which it is desirable to secure an extended concurrence, it is usual, and it is naturally advantageous, to secure the sanction of those whose names are recognised at once throughout the whole community; and for this purpose I think I may with confidence offer to you a list of names for your Vice-Presidents equally distinguished by their station in life, and by the support of every useful and benevolent object.

The Resolution which I hold in my hand is this—That the following be the list of Vice-Presidents:—

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

His Grace the Archbishop of York.

His Grace the Archbishop of Armagh.

The Most Noble the Marquis of Lansdowne, K.G.—Lord President of the Council.

The Earl of Clarendon, Lord Privy Seal.

His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, K.G.

His Grace the Duke of Somerset, K.G.

His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K.G.

His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, K.G.
 His Grace the Duke of Sutherland.
 The Most Noble the Marquis of Northampton.
 The Most Noble the Marquis of Bristol.
 The Most Noble the Marquis of Breadalbane.
 The Most Noble the Marquis of Westminster.
 The Most Noble the Marquis of Normanby.
 The Earl of Euston, M.P.
 The Earl of Shrewsbury.
 The Earl of Devon.
 The Earl of Dartmouth.
 The Earl of Elgin.
 The Earl of Aberdeen, K.T.
 The Earl of Chichester.
 The Earl Powis.
 The Earl Grey, K.G.

But in mentioning the next name I hope I may be allowed to deviate from the mere recital, and to say, in mentioning one so dear to me as the Earl of Harrowby, that I should be sorry to pass over without a moment's notice the name of one who was a fellow-labourer in the early and up-hill struggles in the cause of abolition, with Clarkson and with Wilberforce, with Pitt and with Fox. I may be allowed perhaps to say, in his behalf, that nothing but the infirmities of advancing years, which forbid him from mingling in numerous assemblies of his fellow countrymen, would have prevented him from coming here this day to declare to this meeting in person that the feelings which animated his youth have not slumbered in advancing life. (*Cheers.*)

The Earl of Harrowby.
 The Earl Howe.
 The Earl of Ripon.
 The Earl of Lovelace.
 The Earl Jermyn, M. P.
 The Lord Charles Fitzroy, M. P.
 The Right Hon. the Lord John Russell, M. P.
 The Right Hon. the Lord Viscount Palmerston, M. P.
 The Lord Viscount Morpeth, M. P.
 The Lord Ashley, M. P.
 The Lord Viscount Mahon, M. P.
 The Lord Viscount Howick, M. P.
 The Lord Viscount Sandon, M. P.
 The Lord Eliot, M. P.
 The Lord Bishop of London.
 The Lord Bishop of Durham.
 The Lord Bishop of Winchester.
 The Lord Bishop of Lincoln.
 The Lord Bishop of Bangor.
 The Lord Bishop of Llandaff.
 The Lord Bishop of Chester.
 The Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol.
 The Lord Bishop of Exeter.
 The Lord Bishop of Ely.

The Lord Bishop of Lichfield.
 The Lord Bishop of Chichester.
 The Lord Bishop of Ripon.
 The Lord Bishop of Salisbury.
 The Lord Bishop of Norwich.
 The Lord Bishop of Hereford.
 The Right Hon. the Lord Lyttelton.
 The Right Hon. the Lord Calthorpe.
 The Right Hon. the Lord Hill.
 The Right Hon. the Lord Bexley.
 The Right Hon. the Lord Seaford.
 The Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice Denman.
 The Right Hon. the Lord Glenelg.
 The Right Hon. the Lord Hatherton.
 The Right Hon. the Lord Monteagle.
 The Right Hon. the Speaker of the House of Commons.
 The Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart., M. P.
 The Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice Tiudal.
 The Right Hon. Sir George Murray, G.C.B.
 The Right Hon. Gen. Sir Henry Hardinge, Bart.
 The Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay, M. P.
 Thomas Clarkson, Esq.

Ladies and gentlemen, I think in this list of names the whole country will see an union not only of rank, but also of learning and wisdom, of piety and humanity; they will see enlisted in the cause the experience of age and the ardour of youth: and under the illustrious sanction which we have seen this day afforded to our efforts, I cannot doubt that the great object which we have in view, and the means which we propose to employ for the purpose of obtaining it, will lay a rapid and a lasting hold upon the interest of this great country. With these observations I beg to move this Resolution. (*Cheers.*)

THE REV. JOHN DYER.

My Lord, deeply interested as I have been, both in the object which has assembled us together this day, and in the whole proceedings of the meeting, I feel that it would be altogether out of place at this advanced hour to add much, if any thing more, than that I rise to second the motion proposed by the Noble Lord on my right. I may be permitted to express my earnest hope that that which has been so auspiciously commenced this day may be prosecuted with resolution and vigour, and under the blessing of Almighty God be conducted to a successful issue; that as the reign of our beloved and gracious Sovereign has been happily commenced by the liberation of those of the coloured race within her dominions who were held previously in bondage, so it may please Providence, when at some far distant era it shall be brought to a close, that a still greater glory may encircle her royal brow by the whole human race being rescued from this fearful scourge, and brought into the possession of temporal liberty and to the knowledge of Him who is the author of everlasting freedom. I feel especially rejoiced that the great object of the diffusion of our common Christianity has been so amply recognised in the proceedings

of this day as the ultimate issue of all our philanthropic efforts, that Christianity which is founded upon the sacred volume which we all acknowledge to be paramount to every other, and which we regard as the only foundation of all our hopes for eternity. I have great pleasure, my Lord, in seconding the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and gentlemen. In the list of Vice-Presidents which my noble friend on my right has read to you, he has omitted one name, and I feel it to be my duty to correct that omission. It is the name of my noble friend himself, and sure I am that there is no name in that long and honourable list which will do more credit to the selection of the society than that of my noble friend. I beg, therefore, to propose that the list as read, with the addition of Lord Sandon's name, be the list of the Vice-Presidents of the society.

The Resolution was put and carried unanimously.

THE REV. J. W. CUNNINGHAM.

My lords ladies, and gentlemen. The few observations which I have to offer to this meeting have at least this claim to novelty, that they will be prefaced by complaints against a dear and honoured relative, whom every speaker of every class in this assembly has agreed to commend, I mean Thomas Fowell Buxton. And my complaint is this, that having in the first instance, and in the intensity of his zeal on this subject, required of his friends to publish upon the subject of Africa, he himself sets to work, ransacks every authority ancient and modern, exhausts every fact, figure, and argument which is to be found on the subject, and thus stultifies his own request, and strangles in the birth all the excellent works on the subject of the Slave Trade which I and others had contemplated. The same way with our speeches. Every man who is called upon to speak upon this topic has good reason to expect that before he rises everything he can think, say, or do on the subject will have been said and done a thousand times more effectively by my honourable friend. I believe that I should best meet the general feeling upon this subject by proposing that, in future, Mr. Buxton shall, instead of writing the first book, and making the first speech on slave matters, be required in all instances to speak and write the last.

In the dearth of other topics, you will excuse me if I advert to two conversations to which I have recently listened.

It is only a few days since it was said to me, "There is much weight in your arguments as to the civilizing influence of Christianity, but then no one knows better than yourself that the Africans are an inferior race, and so inferior that you might as well hope to Christianize and civilize their lions and leopards as themselves." Now it is impossible not to admit that, if this statement has the smallest foundation in truth, it is decisive of the question. But, my Lord, it is impossible not to be jealous of all those statements of "the inferiority of one class of human beings to another." The physically strong are very apt to affirm it of the physically weak, and thus to confound bodily with mental and moral inferiority; men, for example, affirm it of women; but who will admit the truth of the allegation that looks at this assembly, and watches the many beaming and sympathizing countenances around us—or who remembers a petition signed by females alone upon the subject of

emancipation, which would have reached from this house to Westminster Hall? Nor, my Lord, do I believe that the charge of inferiority against the negro population is in the smallest degree better founded than other similar charges. In proof of this, I might allege the facility with which they receive education, and the degree in which they often force their way through that most formidable of all obstacles to improvement, the being constantly treated as an inferior race. But I would beg this assembly to listen to what I must consider as an ample refutation of such a libel,—a letter from some of these very negroes when brought under the influence of Christian principles, and which is addressed to a society to which they have the highest obligation, the Church Missionary Society. These negroes had been threatened with the loss of their teacher, on account of the inadequacy of the only place of worship they possessed, and they thus address the Society:—

“The humble petition of the undersigned, inhabitants of the Long Bay District of Manchineal, forming part of the congregation under the care of the Rev. W. J. Woodcock, at the Church Missionary Station, Rural hill, sheweth—That your humble petitioners beg gratefully to acknowledge de great Christian kindness of de Church Missionary Society in sending de great light of de Gospel among dem who were before in great darkness, and in giving de great assistment towards de building where parson might speak to dem de sweet word of Jesus Christ’s redeeming love, and where deir pickaninny—” I believe a “pickaninny” is an African babe—“might have de great instructment of school massa dat no com to dem when dey were pickaninny. That your humble petitioners have heard wid much sorrow de bad news of de Committee no being willing to help dem any more to carry on de building, and dat make parson write and tell de honourable gentlemen dat him beg to be removed to another station. That your petitioners feel so hard upon dis dat dey no able to get rest none at all since dis news come, but tink upon it all time day and night dat dey no able to suffer building now nearly come to finishment to be made to stand, it would be a shame and disgrace to dem for ever, and dey no able to bear dem good parson to go away.” “That de house where parson keep for we prayers now no big enough to hold de people, rain come in in every part, it no be too hot for we black people and dat make parson sick too much dat your petitioners want de new building very much, and can no hear about it stop.” They add—and let not the proposal be forgotten—that they are willing to give their own labour for a month, or if they cannot work, the value of a month’s labour towards the enlargement of the chapel.

I do not know that I have read the best part of the communication, but I have surely read enough to disprove the assertion of the inferiority of the negroes to the whites, their incapacity for moral and literary instruction, and to give you strong assurances that instruction will tell upon them, and that in addressing yourselves to their conscience and heart, you are not “sowing to the wind,” and are not in danger of “reaping the whirlwind.” Show me such a letter from a body of white slave-drivers in Africa or the West Indies, and I will at once give up the argument, but till then I can allow nothing of the inferiority of black to white.

My Lord, it is upon the just view which this Society takes of human nature that I think its pretensions mainly rest. One view of the nature of man upon which they reason and act is—that such men as the negroes whose letter you have just heard will, if brought under the civilizing and sanctifying influences of Christianity, become good and valuable members of society; and who will not sympathize in such a hope? Another view which they take of society is this, that neither books, nor acts of parliament, nor any maritime force which we can send out, are able to contend with a clear profit of 150 per cent., the sum which Mr. Buxton has established in his book as about the average profit of a slave trader.

My Lord, perhaps I may be permitted to express my regret that no one has entered more at large upon this topic. I am not about to try the patience of the meeting by doing so, but I must here beg to refer you to Mr. Buxton's own unanswerable book, that you may learn what the present intentions of the Society are, what is the expedition about to be sent out by the Government to the River Niger, who is its commander, and what use we hope to make of Captain Trotter's talents and devotion to this great cause.

My Lord, in the present state of the meeting I will trespass upon their attention only for a few sentences more.

I have been charged by Mr. Buxton to tell you, that this institution will stand in the greatest need of pecuniary assistance, and to ask (as he wishes, he says, to be moderate) for no less a sum than 10,000*l.*—and *why not?* Is all the emotion of this meeting to evaporate in empty applauses? *Why not?*—when you have many individuals in this assembly who could give the whole sum, and not feel it was gone? *Why not?*—when you have one quarter of the globe in a state of absolute destitution as to all that is best for the soul or the body?

If Mr. Buxton and others give their sinews, their time, their prayers, their hearts, should you keep back a few paltry guineas from this mighty enterprise? But I must add, that Mr. Buxton has told me not only to beg, but not to *stop*, till I got the 10,000*l.*—What is to be done?—Perhaps, on the condition of my stopping, you will be so good as to give it to me, and therefore I will now sit down. (*Great cheers.*)

THE REV. JABEZ BUNTING, D.D.

My Lord, the Reverend Gentleman who preceded me omitted to read at length the Resolution which he moved. I beg leave to supply that omission. The Resolution is, “That Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq. be appointed the Chairman of the Committee of this Society; that the Right Honourable Stephen Lushington, D.C.L., M.P., Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Bart, M.P., and Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, Bart. M.P., be the Deputy Chairmen; and that the gentlemen whose names will be stated in the list hereafter to be read to the Meeting be the Committee for the ensuing year; with power to fill up vacancies that may occur in their number.” My Lord, I shall almost entirely content myself by simply seconding the resolution. As, however, other speakers—and some of the most distinguished in rank and influence—have thought it their duty to take this opportunity of pledging to the meeting the support, not merely of themselves individually, but of the circle of their friends, and of those sections of the religious community

with which they were severally connected, I beg to be allowed briefly to do the same. (*Loud applause.*) The very little power of any kind which I may possess shall be most humbly, but heartily and thankfully, at the service of the Committee of this Society; and I venture to say the same for that section of the Christian church with which it is pretty well known I am connected. (*Loud applause.*) I have no fear of giving such a pledge for them, throughout the length and breadth of their community; (*renewed cheers;*) because it would be strange indeed, if a religious body which was among the first to think of Africa and the Negro, and has, during the last fifty years, made a larger expenditure, (and I am glad they have had it in their hearts and in their power to do so,) both of money and of valuable missionary life, for Africa and the negro race, than many others had the opportunity of doing, (but not more than I hope many will now be ready to do,) it would be strange if such a people could hesitate to come forward with zeal and energy. (*Applause.*) I would press upon the meeting the practical conclusion to which my reverend predecessor wished to lead us; and perhaps I may be permitted in doing so to relate a very brief anecdote. It is said that a person, who had unfortunately contracted the habit of going late to church, went on one occasion very late indeed, and meeting another person who was quitting the church at the conclusion of the service, he asked, "Is it all done?" "No," replied the man, "it is all *said*; but it is all yet to *do*." That, I apprehend, is very much the position of this Society at the present moment. (*Applause.*) This Meeting has been a most noble and delightful one. All is certainly said;—he would be a rash man who tried to say more, or, at all events who tried to say it better, but it is all to be done, or nearly all; and we must now proceed to the *doing*, encouraged and stimulated by remembering the *sayings* which we have heard on this interesting occasion. (*Applause.*) With this observation, my Lord, I beg to second the Resolution. (*Loud cheering.*)

The names of the Committee were read as follows:

Chairman.

Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq.

Deputy Chairmen.

The Right Honourable Stephen Lushington, D.C.L., M.P.

Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Bart., M. P.

Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, Bart., M. P.

Thomas Dyke Acland, Esq., M.P.
 William Allen, Esq.
 Arthur Kett Barclay, Esq.
 Robert Barclay, Jun., Esq.
 Samuel Gurney Barclay, Esq.
 Rev. Jabez Bunting, D.D.
 Rev. John Beecham.
 Joseph Beldam, Esq.
 Captain Bosanquet, R. N.
 Edward N. Buxton, Esq.
 Rev. A. M. Campbell.

Rev. John Clayton.
 Dandeson Coates, Esq.
 Josiah Conder, Esq.
 James Cook, Esq.
 Rev. John Cumming.
 Rev. J. W. Cunningham.
 Rev. Wm. Dealtry, D.D.
 Rev. John Dyer.
 William Evans, Esq., M.P.
 W. E. Forster, Esq.
 W. Storrs Fry, Esq.

J. Gurney Fry, Esq.	Rev. W. H. Mill, D.D.
Samuel Gurney, Esq.	Rev. R. Munro.
Samuel Gurney, jun. Esq.	Lieutenant-colonel Edw. Nicolls.
W. A. Garratt, Esq.	Robert Pryor, Esq.
W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P.	William Rothery, Esq.
Henry Goulburn, jun., Esq.	Sir George Stephen.
William Hamilton, Esq.	W. C. Stretfeild, Esq.
Samuel Hoare, Esq.	Thomas Sturge, Esq.
Rev. R. E. Hankinson.	William Taylor, Esq.
Dr. Hodgkin.	Henry Sykes Thornton, Esq.
Capt. Henry Hope, C.B., R.N.	Rev. Arthur Tidman.
Benjamin Hawes, jun. Esq., M.P.	Rev. Robert Vaughan, D.D.
Charles Lushington, Esq., M.P.	Captain Washington, R.N.
Hon. Capt. Francis Maude, R.N.	Henry Waymouth, Esq.
Richard Matthews, Esq.	Rev. J. R. Wood.

The Resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Honorary Members.

The Lord George Lennox, M.P.
 The Lord Robert Grosvenor, M.P.
 The Lord Teignmouth, M.P.
 The Lord Nugent.
 The Hon. W. Cowper, M.P.
 The Hon. W. J. Lascelles, M.P.
 The Right Hon. Sir George Henry Rose, G.C.B., M.P.
 The Right Hon. Sir Stratford Canning, G.C.B., M.P.
 The Right Hon. Mr. Justice Erskine.
 The Right Hon. Sir George Grey, Bart., M.P.
 The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone.
 The Hon. Mr. Baron Alderson.
 The Hon. Mr. Justice Coleridge.
 Sir Harry Verney Bart., M.P.
 Sir Joseph de Courcey Laffan, M.D. Bart.
 Sir William Edward Parry, Bart., R.N.
 Sir Moses Montefiore.
 The Venerable the Archdeacon Wilberforce.
 George Edward Anson, Esq.
 Captain Bird Allen, R.N.
 Captain William Allen, R.N.
 James Bandinel, Esq.
 Captain Beaufort, R.N.
 Captain Cook.
 William Ewart, Esq., M.P.
 Captain Fitzroy, R.N.
 John Irving Esq., M.P.
 James M'Queen, Esq.
 John Pemberton Plumptre, Esq., M.P.
 Henry Pownall, Esq.
 John Rundle, Esq., M.P.
 Benjamin Smith, Esq., M.P.
 Colonel Torrens.
 Captain Trotter, R.N.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR GEORGE MURRAY.

My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen. Until this paper was just now put into my hands I had not the smallest anticipation that I should have the honour of addressing you upon the present occasion. Perhaps I have been called upon on this account, that as you have already heard men of different political sentiments, men connected with different religious persuasions, the nobles of the land, and the clergy of the land, and have seen among us foreign ambassadors (*great cheering*) giving their individual countenance, and along with it, I trust, that of their governments, to our proceedings, it may have been, perhaps, desired that you should hear the sentiments of a military man also upon the present occasion. (*Cheers.*) I can assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that I enter most fully into the feelings and into the views of this great and distinguished assembly. (*Loud cheers.*) It has been at all times my anxious desire, and my humble endeavour, that wherever British authority extended, there every trace of slavery should be extinguished; and that wherever British influence had any power, it should be exerted to effect the same laudable object. (*Cheers.*) We have different grounds upon which *we* make our appeal to you upon the present occasion; for I have the honour and the gratification now to address you as one of the Vice-Presidents of the Association; we have different objects to which to direct your attention. First, we have to enlist your feelings in the cause of humanity; next we have to interest you on religious grounds in favour of the extension of those blessings which Christianity carries with it; and, lastly, we have to appeal to your understandings to sanction the course we are pursuing. I believe it to be an undoubted and an undeniable fact, that whereas the exertions hitherto made by this country for the Abolition of Slavery have failed of complete success, they have so failed because they have not been directed to the root of the evil. But we appeal to your understandings whether we are not now proceeding in the right course when we are aiming at the civilization of the great continent of Africa itself, as the only effectual means of putting an end to the detestable traffic of the Slave Trade, and eradicating for ever all the traces of an inhuman system. (*Hear, hear, and cheers.*)

I am happy that the Resolution which has been put into my hands is not like some of those which have been already read to you—one calling for any long address, or requiring argument or persuasion to obtain your assent to it. I have been called upon to propose to you a Resolution which I am confident will obtain from all a hearty concurrence, and one in which I myself concur, not only from the strong feelings of private friendship which I entertain towards the noble individual to whom it relates, but also from sentiments of esteem resting upon public grounds, I mean the resolution to vote “the cordial thanks of this Meeting to the Right Honourable the Earl of Ripon for his able and impartial conduct in the chair this day.” (*Cheers.*) We have been peculiarly fortunate in the auspicious manner in which this meeting has been called together, and has been conducted. (*Cheers.*) We had in the illustrious Prince who occupied the chair at the opening of our proceedings a sure pledge, a pledge the most satisfactory that could be afforded us, of the entire and sincere

participation of the Sovereign of the country in the views which we entertain. (*Loud cheers.*) We have also, I may say with equal truth, in the intelligence, in the respectability, and in the numbers of this assembly, an unequivocal proof that the feelings of the whole people of England go along with us in seeking the attainment of the objects at which we aim. And permit me to add, that it is not one of the least gratifying and important circumstances attending this meeting, that we see amongst us so large a proportion of the female sex. (*Hear, hear.*) For we cannot have, gentlemen, a surer evidence that we are in the right course—in the course which humanity dictates, and religion recommends, than that which is furnished by the disinterested and zealous support which we receive from so large a portion of the fair sex. We have a further pledge, through them also, that this great cause will be advocated, not only in public meetings such as this is, and in many which will, I trust, be assembled in every part of the British dominions, but it is certified to us likewise, that those feelings will be made, by their instrumentality, to penetrate into every domestic circle in the country, and not only so, but that they will be inculcated and handed down to those who will succeed us in carrying forward hereafter this great endeavour.

I will not enter upon the argument which has been suggested by one of the speakers, whether the results of our efforts will be speedily realized or not till a remote period; but of this I am sure, that they cannot arrive more speedily than your zeal would desire; and I am equally confident that they cannot be so tardy in their arrival as to wear out your patience and perseverance in so just and so good a cause. I beg leave to move “That the cordial thanks of this meeting be presented to the Right Hon. the Earl of Ripon for his able conduct in the chair this day.”

(*A call for Mr. O'Connell.*)

THE CHAIRMAN.—I most deeply regret that any circumstance connected with my name and my station in this meeting should have led to any difference of opinion that should even have the appearance of interrupting the harmony of our meeting. But in the discharge of the duty which I have been called upon to undertake, I certainly am bound to state that Sir Thomas Acland was the first, as far as I know, who has the claim to your attention, (*Cheers.*) and in conformity therefore with the rules that I believe to be universally observed upon occasions of this sort, I humbly suggest to you that he should be permitted to proceed. (*Cheers.*)

SIR THOMAS DYKE ACLAND, BART., M. P.

My Lord Ripon, Ladies and Gentlemen. This at least I may promise you, that in return for your indulgence, I will not long abuse your patience. Amongst the many apologies that have been made here to-day, mine, the most necessary, has this advantage, that, though the least, I am also the last, to address you, according to the arrangements which have been made by the Committee; and the task ought indeed to be easy, for I am only desired to ask what has already sprung forth from the lips and hearts of every one present, viz., your cordial concurrence in the acknowledgments justly to be tendered to any English gentleman who should come forward to help

such a cause as this by taking the Chair on such an occasion. The Vicar of Harrow bade you not to retire to your arm-chairs, but to go to work in your own particular spheres, and do the utmost that you could on behalf of this Society. This is true; but after all, what has not the Chair your Lordship now fills accomplished for us this day? And depend upon it there is not one here who, whether he return to his arm-chair or not, will not be able by communicating the warm feelings he has received in this Meeting to others, to extend in a widening circle the interest for this great cause, till the result is seen in the amelioration of that benighted continent to which you wish to open the light of civilization. Assuredly then, ladies and gentlemen, to him whose warm and honest heart is proverbial among those who know him, as being one of the most genuine representatives of English honesty and English feeling, our thanks are especially due for the part he has taken this day, and the deep concern he has thus manifested in our exertions for the extinction of the Slave Trade. It was, indeed, observed, and well observed too, that when we go out of this room all remains to be done—perseveringly—year after year—with various success, as the blessing of Heaven shall descend more or less graciously upon this undertaking; (*hear and applause*;) but be also assured at the same time, that the dawn of that day has now arisen which will not fade till the sun has attained his full meridian height.

Depend upon it, it is no chimerical feeling (though I think one might be forgiven for cherishing even such feelings in such a cause) to hold fast the persuasion of which I for one, feel it impossible, to divest myself, that such a day will and must come—but whether fifty or five hundred years hence, will probably depend on the results of the exertions which have now commenced. Even in the natural course and order of things, Africa will, of necessity, take her place in the great community of civilized nations. From the day Mr. Lander, an humble but energetic and unwearied labourer in the cause of scientific discovery, from the day that he descended the Niger, “that great and mighty river,” to the sea, any one who had looked into the history of the other parts of the world must have felt assured that Africa was destined to assume a high rank amongst the Christian nations of the world, to be received into their society, and after the manner which has been too well set forth to-day by the tongue of hereditary Christian eloquence for me to repeat the description, to pour forth her exuberant produce, and exchange those commodities it has pleased Providence to give her for other articles brought from other shores. At some time or other this must take place; the only question is whether, when England has so deep a debt to repay, she will not be the first to enter the path; if not done by England, it will be done by others, if not done by the great authority of such assemblages as these, with princes, and nobles, and teachers spiritual and philosophical at our head, it will be done by some one; self-interest will take some steps in this direction to effect its own objects, but not such, nor so safe, so beneficent, nor so early, as this Society will strive to pursue towards the blessed amelioration we contemplate. This is the only point that I wish to touch upon in the few words which I address to this Meeting. The anxiety that I have is, that every person who puts his hand to the “Ark of this magnificent and awful cause” may feel that, however light the support he yields,

however small the weight he may sustain, it is still in truth in this way, and I believe in this way only, that the high road can be made into the heart of Africa, by which all that is good, and wise, and blessed shall hereafter find fair and free way along which to travel. We are not, indeed, to teach in the ordinary acceptation of the word,—we are not to preach in the spiritual sense of the word,—we are not to be merchants or missionaries, or colonists or settlers,—but we are striving to do that, which, when followed up by such a stimulus of benevolence as has brought so many together here; that which, taking men as they are, and societies as they are, could not have been ever hoped from a separate institution, nor from any special societies which should either have been simply and entirely commercial or missionary, or colonizing in their view.

If you wish to obtain more information upon this subject, let me recommend every one to procure Mr. Buxton's book; there the foundation is laid, there is the brick and mortar brought for our building; read that book, and read it till your feelings become penetrated, as I acknowledge mine have been, with the full assurance that our common attempt is the more likely to prosper because it is placed within practical limits, because it is so arranged that every man alive may have his share in the work. Here you may be assured that we are taking the first step right, and that the result will be, that every other great interest of humanity will be borne on the arms of English benevolence to do its full and perfect work, and that under the Divine blessing even Africa shall at length become a civilized and Christian land. My Lord, I congratulate you with all my heart on the result of this meeting. I congratulate every person who in any way has taken part in this assembly, who has done any thing, whether by his approbation and hearty concurrence, whether by his eloquence, or by his kind and considerate silence,—or in any way, with *bonâ fide* sincerity, contributed to the promotion of unanimity in this great cause.

I congratulate you further, my Lord, that you have been called by such a body of your countrymen to follow His Royal Highness Prince Albert, in the performance of his truly princely act of courtesy and benevolence in thus taking the Chair of this Meeting. We are, indeed, deeply indebted, first to His Royal Highness, and then to your Lordship; and of this gratitude I venture now, on the part of the assembly, to tender you the cordial offer, and shall most properly conclude the duty which has been assigned me by asking you, ladies and gentlemen, whether you will not, one and all, with heart and voice, now concur with me in passing the resolution of our thanks to the Earl of Ripon, for his kind and able conduct in the chair this day.

The Resolution was put and carried unanimously amidst great applause.

CHAIRMAN.

After the deep interest that has been excited in the breasts of all who hear me by the proceedings of this day; after the brilliant eloquence, the earnest feeling, and the sincere display of religious sentiment with which you have been delighted and animated in the course of these proceedings, it must be gratifying to you to feel that the time has now come when you may give your assent (if you should be

pleased to do so) to a resolution which excites, and can excite, no such feeling, and call forth no such sympathy; I mean that which has been proposed with reference to myself. I appear before this vast assembly, comprising hundreds—nay, I believe, thousands—of my fellow-countrymen; I appear before you without, I believe, being personally known to by far the majority of those whom I have now the honour of addressing; and I do not know to what I can ascribe the desire which some friends of mine expressed that I should take the chair this afternoon when his Royal Highness Prince Albert should quit it, except to the circumstance that it fell to my lot to bear an active part, as one of the Ministers of the Crown, in recommending to Parliament the positive, effectual, and final abolition of slavery in all parts of Her Majesty's dominions. I was always of opinion, from the first moment that my thoughts were directed to that subject, (and it strikes me now that the first vote I ever gave in Parliament was for the abolition of the Slave Trade,) I always was of opinion that the necessary and inevitable consequence of that measure would be, first, the abolition of slavery itself in every part of the British dominions, and finally, I ventured to hope, the extinction of slavery throughout the civilized world. And if, by any acts of mine, I have, however humbly, contributed to bring about that great and glorious event, abundantly am I rewarded for any labour of thought that I may have bestowed upon the subject, or any personal exertion which it may have been in my power to make. (*Applause.*) It would be an idle waste of your time if I were to enter into any sort of detail upon this great subject, which has been presented to you this day in all its bearings; but, ladies and gentlemen, I will venture to say one word to you upon the feelings with which we ought to part upon the conclusion of this long and interesting discussion. You will, I am sure, carry with you from this Hall, not the mere transient impressions of the moment, excited by the powerful appeals which have been made to your feelings, but a deliberate conviction that you have been assembled by a solemn call to assist, perhaps I should say to direct, a great exertion in a great cause—an exertion and a cause so great as to require the utmost devotedness of purpose and steadiness of perseverance in order to effect their successful accomplishment. And when I recently heard Mr. Cunningham advise you to carry with you into the bosom of your several families the recollection of what you have heard and the feelings which have been excited, I could not look round upon this vast meeting, and notice how it is in great part composed, without feeling confident that all the kindest feelings of our nature are enlisted on the side of African freedom, and that those domestic and holy influences by which men are oftentimes stimulated to generous and elevated actions, will not be wanting on this occasion to keep alive the warmth of our zeal and the details of our operations.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you with all my heart for the manner in which you have been pleased to receive my humble services; and nothing now remains for me to add but to announce that this great, this glorious, this national meeting (for so it may well be termed) is now, I humbly hope, with the blessing of God upon it, prosperously terminated. (*Loud Applause.*)

APPENDIX A.

PROSPECTUS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE EXTINCTION OF THE SLAVE
TRADE, AND FOR THE CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA.*Instituted June, 1839.*

IN the year 1807 Great Britain prohibited all her subjects from engaging in the Slave Trade, and the Legislature of this country, in accordance with the voice of the people, repudiated a commerce which had produced more crime and misery than, perhaps, any other single cause of guilt and iniquity; but neither the Government nor the Legislature, nor the subjects of this realm, were satisfied with a mere cessation from crime.

Remembering how deeply, in times of comparative ignorance, we had sustained and augmented this trade, so repugnant to every Christian principle and feeling, the nation determined to use its utmost influence, and expend its resources, in the noble attempt to extinguish it for ever.

The compass of this address will not allow even of the most compendious statement of the measures resorted to, of the treaties concluded with foreign powers, of the monies expended, and the various other efforts made to effect this object; suffice it to say that, since the year 1807, all the great Powers of Europe have been induced by Great Britain to unite in expressing their abhorrence of this traffic; and, with all, treaties more or less stringent have been made for its extinction.

The United States of America, though from political reasons they have declined any actual co-operation, have not the less denounced and prohibited all traffic in slaves from Africa. Great Britain has expended, in bounties alone, upwards of 940,000*l.*; and, in the maintenance of the courts established for the adjudication of captured slaves, above 330,000*l.*, besides a very large sum annually in supporting a considerable force of cruizers in various parts of the globe, to intercept and destroy the traffic.* An infinitely more important sacrifice has been made in the loss of British life, which has been necessarily incurred in pursuing this object. The result, the melancholy result, remains to be stated. The traffic has not been extinguished, has not been diminished, but, by the latest accounts from which any estimate can be correctly formed, the numbers exported have increased—the destruction of human life, and all the guilt and misery consequent thereon, have been fearfully augmented; and at the same time it may

* This expenditure, together with that caused by the payments to Foreign Powers on account of the Slave Trade, for the support of liberated Africans and for other incidental expenses, may be shown from official documents to have amounted to upwards of fifteen millions sterling.

be stated, that the numbers exported from Africa are, as compared with the year 1807, as two to one, and that the annual loss of life has risen from seventeen to twenty-five.

Let no man, however, say that these efforts have been thrown away. Who can tell how fearful might not have been the amount of enormity, if those exertions had not been made? Who would presume to say that the very assertion of the great principles of justice and truth has not accelerated the final extirpation of those detested practices? Who could venture to assert that a criminal inaction on the part of Great Britain might not have caused an indefinite continuance of the guilt on the part of other nations?

But the people of England have not succeeded to the extent of their wishes:—Assuming it to be so, what remains to be done?—but led on by the same Christian principles, the same devotion to truth, justice, and humanity, to continue our efforts, and to apply, if possible, other and more efficient remedies in accordance with these great principles.

Animated by these feelings, a number of Noblemen and Gentlemen of all political opinions, and of Christian persuasions of divers kinds, have formed themselves into a Society for the purpose of effecting the extinction of the Slave Trade; and they now call on the public to unite their exertions for the accomplishment of this great end.

That the British public, apprized of the extent of the enormity, and deeply feeling the guilt and misery now prevailing, will receive with favour the announcement of the formation of this Society, no doubt is entertained; but various opinions do and will exist as to the most fitting means to be adopted for the establishment of peace and tranquillity in Africa.

It is expedient, therefore, to state the leading principles on which this Society is formed, and the measures intended to be pursued.

It is the unanimous opinion of this Society, that the only complete cure of all these evils is the introduction of Christianity into Africa. They do not believe that any less powerful remedy will entirely extinguish the present inducements to trade in human beings, or will afford to the inhabitants of those extensive regions a sure foundation for repose and happiness.

But they are aware that a great variety of views may exist as to the manner in which religious instruction should be introduced. Distinctly avowing, therefore, that the substitution of our pure and holy faith for the false religion, idolatry, and superstitions of Africa, is, in their firm conviction, the true ultimate remedy for the calamities that afflict her, they are most anxious to adopt every measure which may eventually lead to the establishment of Christianity throughout that continent; and hoping to secure the cordial co-operation of all, they proceed to declare that the grand object of their association is *the extinction of the Slave Trade*.

The primary object of this Society will be constantly kept in view under all circumstances of difficulty or discouragement, as the grand end to which their efforts, of whatever character, should be resolutely and unchangeably directed.

As one of the principal means, they have cordially co-operated with Mr. Buxton in inducing Her Majesty's Government to undertake an expedition to the River Niger, with the view of obtaining the most

accurate information as to the state of the countries bordering on its mighty waters.

The immense importance of this object alone, as opening a highway into the interior of Africa, and bringing the efforts of British philanthropy into immediate contact with the numerous and populous nations it contains, will be at once perceived and acknowledged.

It will be one of the first duties, then, of this Society to watch over the proceedings of this expedition, to record its progress, and to digest and circulate the valuable information which it may be confidently expected to communicate.

When this leading step has been taken, it is anticipated that a large field for exertions of a different description will then be opened; but desirable as such exertions may be, it must be clearly understood that this Society, associated solely for benevolent purposes, can bear no part whatever in them: still, in order that a comprehensive view may be taken of the whole, though each part must be accomplished by agencies entirely distinct, it may be expedient to state some of the expectations which are entertained.

One most important department must entirely rest with Her Majesty's Government,—the formation of treaties with the native rulers of Africa for the suppression of the Slave Trade. Such treaties, however, will not be carried into execution, unless those wants, which have hitherto been supplied from the profits arising from the sale of the natives, should be satisfied through the means of legitimate commerce. It may appear expedient to the Government to obtain from the chiefs the possession of some convenient districts which may be best adapted to carrying on trade with safety and success; and when this is effected, another and wholly distinct Society may perhaps be formed, for the purpose of aiding in the cultivation of those districts, and of promoting the growth of those valuable products for which the soil of those countries is peculiarly fitted.

The present Society can take part in no plan of colonization or of trade. Its objects are, and must be, exclusively pacific and benevolent; but it may, by encouragement and by the diffusion of information, most materially aid in the civilization of Africa, and so pave the way for the successful exertions of others, whether they be directed to colonization and the cultivation of the soil, or to commercial intercourse, or to that which is immeasurably superior to them all, the establishment of the Christian faith on the continent of Africa.

At home, this Society will direct its vigilant attention to all which may arise with respect to the traffic in slaves, and give publicity to whatever may be deemed most essential to produce its suppression.

In Africa, there are various means whereby it may effectually work to the same end. One of the great impediments at present existing to the advancement of knowledge, is the state of the native languages of Western and Central Africa.

Amongst the many nations which inhabit those regions, there are certainly many different dialects, and not improbably several leading languages. A few only of those languages have yet been reduced into writing, and consequently the difficulty of holding intercourse with the natives, and imparting knowledge to them, is greatly increased. By

the adoption of effectual measures for reducing the principal languages of Western and Central Africa into writing, a great obstacle to the diffusion of information will be removed, and facility afforded for the introduction of the truths of Christianity.

There is another subject, of no light importance, which would legitimately fall within the views of this Institution. In Africa, medical science can scarcely be said to exist, yet in no part of the world is it more profoundly respected. As at present understood by the natives, it is intimately connected with the most inveterate and barbarous superstitions; and its artful practitioners, owing their superiority to this popular ignorance, may be expected to interpose the most powerful obstacles to the diffusion of Christianity and of science.

To encourage, therefore, the *introduction* of more enlightened views on this subject, to prevent or mitigate the prevalence of disease and suffering among the people of Africa, and to secure the aid of medical science generally to the beneficent objects of African civilization, must be considered of immense importance; nor would its benefits be confined to the native population. It is equally applicable to the investigation of the climate and localities of that country. To render Africa a salubrious residence for European constitutions may be a hopeless task; but to diminish the danger, to point out the means whereby persons proceeding thither may most effectually guard against its perils, may perhaps be effected; nor must it be forgotten that, in however humble a degree this advantage can be attained, its value cannot be too highly appreciated.

Various other measures may come within the legitimate scope of this Institution. It may be sufficient to recapitulate a few:—the encouragement of practical science in all its various branches,—the system of drainage best calculated to succeed in a climate so humid and so hot, would be an invaluable boon to all who frequent that great continent, whatever might be their purpose. Though this Society would not embark in agriculture, it might afford essential assistance to the natives, by furnishing them with useful information as to the best mode of cultivation; as to the productions which command a steady market, and by introducing the most approved agricultural implements and seeds. The time may come when the knowledge and practice of the mighty powers of steam might contribute rapidly to promote the improvement and prosperity of that country.

Even matters of comparatively less moment may engage the attention of the Society. It may assist in promoting the formation of roads and canals. The manufacture of paper, and the use of the printing press, if once established in Africa, will be amongst the most powerful auxiliaries in the dispersion of ignorance and the destruction of barbarism.

It is hoped that enough has now been stated to justify the Society in calling for the aid and co-operation of all who hold in just abhorrence the iniquitous traffic in human beings—of all who deeply deplore the awful crimes which have so long afflicted, and still continue to devastate, Africa—of all who remember with deep sorrow and contrition that share which Great Britain so long continued to have in producing those scenes of bloodshed and of guilt. A variety of collateral means

has thus been suggested sufficiently important and interesting to demonstrate the necessity of a distinct Society, and to entitle it to the best wishes and firmest support of every sincere friend of Africa.

To its success, cordial and united co-operation is indispensable. It proposes to act by means in which the whole community, without regard to religious or political opinions, may concur; and though it does not embrace the establishment, by its own agency, of schools for the spread of religious instruction, it abstains from such an undertaking, not because it does not value the introduction of Christian knowledge, as the greatest blessing which can be bestowed on that idolatrous land, but because a diversity of opinion as to the mode of proceeding must of necessity interfere with the unity of action so essential for the common prosecution of such an important object, and thus impede instead of facilitate the objects of this Institution.

It is impossible, however, to close this address without again expressing, in the most emphatic terms, the conviction and earnest hope of all who have already attached themselves as members of this Institution, that the measures to be adopted by them for the suppression of the traffic in slaves—for securing the peace and tranquillity of Africa—for the encouragement of agriculture and commerce—will facilitate the propagation and triumph of that faith which one and all feel to be indispensable for the happiness of the inhabitants of that continent. Howsoever the extension of the Christian religion may be attempted, it is far more likely to take root and flourish where peace prevails, and crime is diminished, than where murder and bloodshed, and the violation of every righteous principle, continue to pollute the land.

*Office of the Society, 15, Parliament-street,
14th February, 1840.*

APPENDIX B.

RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

1. THAT the affairs of the Society be administered by a President, Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer and Committee.

2. That the Committee shall consist of fifty-two members of the Society, to be elected annually, at the General Yearly Meeting.

3. That annual Subscribers of One Guinea and upwards be members of the Society during the continuance of their Subscriptions, and that Benefactors of Ten Guineas and upwards be Life Members.

4. That the President, Vice-Presidents and Treasurer be *ex officio* Members of all Committees and Sub-Committees.

5. That the Yearly Meeting of the Society be held in the month of April, May or June, when the Balance Sheet of Receipt and Expenditure of the preceding year shall be presented, and the Proceedings of the Society reported.

6. That the Committee shall appoint such Officers and Assistants as they shall deem necessary for the well-conducting of the Society's affairs, and shall also have the power of removing any Officers or Assistants.

7. That a Special General Meeting of the Society shall be called at any time, at the requisition of the Committee, or by any thirty-six Members of the Society, on addressing a letter, signed by such members, to the Secretary, specifying the object of the Meeting.

8. That ten days' notice be given in three daily London Newspapers, or by general Circular sent to the Subscribers by Post, addressed to their usual place of residence, of such intended Special General Meeting, and of the purpose for which it shall be called.

9. That at Meetings of the Society, of which Meeting fifty members shall form a quorum, and at Meetings of the Committee, of which five members shall form a quorum, the President, or, in his absence, a Vice-President, or in case of no Vice-President being present, such Member of the Committee as shall be voted for that purpose, shall preside at the Meeting; and in case of an equality of votes either at a General Meeting, or at a General Meeting of the Committee, the Chairman shall have a casting vote in addition to his original vote.

10. That the Committee meet monthly on a day to be fixed by themselves, or oftener if they shall deem it necessary, by adjournment or otherwise.

11. All payments on account of the Society, except such as may be necessary for current expenses, shall be paid by cheques on the Treasurer, signed by three Members of the Committee, and countersigned by the Secretary.

12. That three Auditors be appointed; the first year by the Committee, and afterwards by the Yearly Meeting, for the purpose of auditing the Accounts of the Society.

APPENDIX C.

President.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT, K. G.

Vice-Presidents.

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

His Grace the Archbishop of York.

His Grace the Archbishop of Armagh.

The Most Noble the Marquis of Lansdowne, K. G., Lord President of the Council.

The Earl of Clarendon, Lord Privy Seal.

His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, K. G.

His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K. G.

His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, K. G.

His Grace the Duke of Sutherland.

The Most Noble the Marquis of Northampton.

The Most Noble the Marquis of Bristol.

The Most Noble the Marquis of Breadalbane.

The Most Noble the Marquis of Westminster.

The Most Noble the Marquis of Normandy.

The Earl of Euston, M. P.

The Earl of Shrewsbury.

The Earl of Devon.

The Earl of Dartmouth.

The Earl of Elgin.

The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.

The Earl of Chichester.

The Earl Powis.

The Earl Grey, K. G.

The Earl of Harrowby.

The Earl Howe.

The Earl of Ripon.

The Earl of Lovelace.

The Earl Jermyn, M. P.

The Lord Charles Fitzroy, M. P.

The Right Hon. the Lord John Russell, M. P.

The Right Hon. Lord Viscount Palmerston, M. P.

The Lord Viscount Morpeth, M. P.

The Lord Ashley, M. P.

The Lord Viscount Mahon, M. P.

The Lord Viscount Howick, M. P.

The Lord Viscount Sandon, M. P.

The Lord Eliot, M. P.

The Lord Bishop of London.

The Lord Bishop of Durham.

The Lord Bishop of Winchester.

The Lord Bishop of Lincoln.

The Lord Bishop of Bangor.
 The Lord Bishop of Llandaff.
 The Lord Bishop of Chester.
 The Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol.
 The Lord Bishop of Exeter.
 The Lord Bishop of Ely.
 The Lord Bishop of Lichfield.
 The Lord Bishop of Chichester.
 The Lord Bishop of Ripon.
 The Lord Bishop of Salisbury.
 The Lord Bishop of Norwich.
 The Lord Bishop of Hereford.
 The Right Hon. the Lord Lyttelton.
 The Right Hon. the Lord Calthorpe.
 The Right Hon. the Lord Hill.
 The Right Hon. the Lord Bexley.
 The Right Hon. the Lord Seaford.
 The Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice Denman
 The Right Hon. the Lord Glenelg.
 The Right Hon. the Lord Hatherton.
 The Right Hon. the Lord Monteagle.
 The Right Hon. the Speaker of the House of Commons.
 The Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart., M. P.
 The Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice Tindal.
 The Right Hon. Sir George Murray, G. C. B.
 The Right Hon. Gen. Sir Henry Hardinge, Bart., K. C. B., M. P.
 The Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay, M. P.
 Thomas Clarkson, Esq.

Committee.

Chairman.

Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq.

Deputy Chairmen.

The Right Hon. Stephen Lushington, D. C. L., M. P.
 Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Bart., M. P.
 Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, Bart., M. P.

Thomas Dyke Acland, Esq., M. P.

William Allen, Esq.

Arthur Kett Barclay, Esq.

Robert Barclay, jun., Esq.

Joseph Gurney Barclay, Esq.

Rev. Jabez Bunting, D. D.

Rev. John Beecham.

Joseph Beldam, Esq.

Captain Bosanquet, R. N.

Edward N. Buxton, Esq.

Rev. A. M. Campbell.

Rev. John Clayton, jun.

Dandeson Coates, Esq.

Josiah Conder, Esq.

James Cook, Esq.

Rev. John Cumming.

Rev. J. W. Cunningham.

Rev. Wm. Dealtry, D. D.

Rev. John Dyer.

William Evans, Esq., M. P.

W. E. Forster, Esq.

W. Storrs Fry, Esq.

J. Gurney Fry, Esq.

Samuel Gurney, Esq.

Samuel Gurney, jun., Esq.

W. A. Garratt, Esq.

W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M. P.

Henry Goulburn, jun., Esq.

William Hamilton, Esq.
 Samuel Hoare, Esq.
 Rev. R. E. Hankinson.
 Dr. Hodgkin.
 Capt. Henry Hope, C. B., R. N.
 Benjamin Hawes, jun., Esq., M. P.
 Charles Lushington, Esq., M. P.
 Hon. Capt. Francis Maude, R. N.
 Richard Matthews, Esq.
 Rev. W. H. Mill, D. D.
 Rev. R. Munro.
 Lieutenant-Colonel Edw. Nicolls.
 Robert Pryor, Esq.

William Rothery, Esq.
 Sir George Stephen.
 W. C. Stretfeild, Esq.
 Thomas Sturge, Esq.
 William Taylor, Esq.
 Henry Sykes Thornton, Esq.
 Rev. Arthur Tidman.
 Rev. Robert Vaughan, D. D.
 Sir Harry Verney, Bart., M. P.
 Captain Washington, R. N.
 Henry Waymouth, Esq.
 Rev. J. R. Wood.

Treasurer.—John Gurney Hoare, Esq.

Secretary.—The Rev. J. M. Trew.

Honorary Members.

The Lord George Lennox, M. P.
 The Lord Robert Grosvenor, M. P.
 The Lord Teignmouth, M. P.
 The Lord Nugent.
 The Hon. W. Cowper, M. P.
 The Hon. W. J. Lascelles, M. P.
 The Right Hon. Sir George Henry Rose, G. C. B., M. P.
 The Right Hon. Sir Stratford Canning, G. C. B. M. P.
 The Right Hon. Mr. Justice Erskine.
 The Right Hon. Sir George Grey, Bart., M. P.
 The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone.
 The Hon. Mr. Baron Alderson.
 The Hon. Mr. Justice Coleridge.
 Sir Joseph de Courcey Laffan, Bart., M. D.
 Sir William Edward Parry, R. N.
 Sir Moses Montefiore.
 The Venerable the Archdeacon Wilberforce.
 George Edward Anson, Esq.
 Captain Bird Allen, R. N.
 Captain William Allen, R. N.
 James Bandinel, Esq.
 Captain Beaufort, R. N.
 Captain Cook.
 William Ewart, Esq., M. P.
 Captain Fitzroy, R. N.
 John Irving, Esq., M. P.
 James M'Queen, Esq.
 John Pemberton Plumptre, Esq., M. P.
 Henry Pownall, Esq.
 John Rundle, Esq., M. P.
 Benjamin Smith, Esq., M. P.
 Colonel Torrens.
 Captain Trotter, R. N.

LIST OF DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS

ALREADY RECEIVED.

	Donations.			Annual Subscriptions.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT	105	0	0	10	10	0
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN DOWAGER	100	0	0			
<hr style="width: 20%; margin: 0 auto;"/>						
Armagh, His Grace the Archbishop of	25	0	0			
Ashley, Lord, M.P.	.	.	.	5	5	0
Acland, Sir Thomas Dyke, Bart., M.P.	100	0	0			
Acland, Thomas Dyke, Esq., M.P.	25	0	0			
Acland, Miss	10	0	0			
Adderley, C. B., Esq.	25	0	0			
Adam, William, Esq.	10	10	0			
Allen, William, Esq.	.	.	.	2	2	0
Allen, Captain William, R.N.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Allen, Captain Bird, R.N.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Anderson, W. W., Esq.	1	0	0			
Anonymous	10	0	0			
Ditto	2	0	0			
Ditto	5	0	0			
Arbuthnot, J. A. A., Esq.	.	.	.	2	0	0
Arbuthnot, G., Esq.	.	.	.	1	0	0
Breadalbane, the Most Noble the Marquis of	20	0	0			
Bandon, the Earl of	10	0	0			
Bangor, the Lord Bishop of	10	0	0			
Berners, the Right Hon. the Lord	10	0	0			
Bexley, the Right Hon. the Lord.	50	0	0			
Byron, Lady	20	0	0			
Backhouse, Edward, Esq.	.	.	.	5	0	0
Ball, John, Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Bandinel, James, Esq.	.	.	.	3	3	0
Battersby, A. G. W., Esq.	20	0	0			
Barclay, David, Esq.	100	0	0			
Barclay, Robert, Esq.	100	0	0	5	5	0
Barclay, Charles, Esq.	50	0	0	5	5	0
Barclay, Arthur Kett, Esq.	26	5	0	5	0	0
Barclay, Robert, jun., Esq.	.	.	.	5	5	0
Barclay, J. Gurney, Esq.	.	.	.	5	5	0
Barclay, Robert, Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0

	Donations.			Annual Subscriptions.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Barclay, James, Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Baring, Brothers and Co., Messrs.	100	0	0			
Baring, Henry, Esq.	20	0	0			
Barnett, Hoares and Co., Messrs.	100	0	0			
Barker, Mrs. Elizabeth	.	.	.	2	2	0
Barrett, the Rev. Joseph	.	.	.	1	1	0
Beague, Mrs.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Beard, Richard, Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Beldam, Joseph, Esq.	.	.	.	2	2	0
Beecham, the Rev. John	.	.	.	2	0	0
Bevan, C. J. Esq.	31	10	0			
Bickersteth, the Rev. E.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Blunt, the Rev. Henry	5	5	0			
Bosanquet, Captain, R.N.	.	.	.	2	0	0
Bowdler, the Rev. T.	10	10	0			
Brackenbury, Mrs.	10	0	0			
Brightwen, John, Esq.	10	0	0			
Briscoe, John Ivatt, Esq., M.P.	.	.	.	5	5	0
Broad, C. M., Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Brodrick, Charles, Esq.	.	.	.	1	0	0
Bunting, the Rev. Dr.	.	.	.	2	2	0
Burder, the Rev. Dr.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Burge, William, Esq.	.	.	.	3	3	0
Burlingham, Richard, Esq.	.	.	.	1	0	0
Buttress, J. J., Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Buxton, Thomas Fowell, Esq.	50	0	0	5	5	0
Buxton, Edward N., Esq.	100	0	0	10	10	0
Buxton, Edmund, Esq.	50	0	0	5	0	0
Chester, the Lord Bishop of	10	0	0			
Chichester, the Lord Bishop of	10	10	0			
Calthorpe, the Right Hon. the Lord	50	0	0	5	5	0
Calthorpe, the Hon. F. G.	.	.	.	3	3	0
Cowper, the Hon. W., M.P.	.	.	.	2	0	0
Canning, the Right Hon. Sir Stratford, G.C.B., M.P.	.	.	.	5	5	0
Calvert, Frederick, Esq.	5	0	0			
Campbell, the Rev. A. M.	.	.	.	2	2	0
Chubb, Charles, Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Chubb, John, Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Chubb, T., Esq.	.	.	.	0	10	6
Chute, Mrs.	5	0	0			
Clarke, Thomas T., Esq.	50	0	0			
Clarkson, Thomas, Esq.	10	0	0			
Clayton, the Rev. John, jun.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Clayton, the Rev. George	.	.	.	1	1	0
Clowes and Sons, Messrs. W.	10	10	0			
Coates, Daudeson, Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Colquhoun, J. C., Esq., M.P.	.	.	.	2	0	0
Cook, James, Esq.	100	0	0			

	Donations.			Annual Subscriptions.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Cook, Captain . . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Corbett, Panton, Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	3	3	0
Coutts and Co., Messrs.	100	0	0			
Cunningham, the Rev. Francis . . . . .	.	.	.	2	2	0
C., J. S. . . . .	.	.	.	2	2	0
Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of	50	0	0			
Dartmouth, the Earl of	25	0	0			
Durham, the Lord Bishop of	15	15	0			
Denman, the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice	10	0	0			
Davies, the Rev. John . . . . .	.	.	.	1	0	0
Dawkes, S. W., Esq.	5	0	0			
Dealtry, the Rev. Wm., D.D. . . . .	.	.	.	3	3	0
Denison, Heywood and Co., Messrs.	100	0	0			
Dewdney, the Rev. E. . . . .	.	.	.	1	0	0
Duncan, P. R., Esq.	5	0	0			
Dyer, the Rev. John	1	1	0			
Euston, the Earl of, M.P.	20	0	0	5	5	0
Ely, the Lord Bishop of	10	10	0			
Eliot, the Lord, M.P.	10	0	0			
Elphinstone, the Hon. Mountstuart	10	0	0			
Erskine, the Right Hon. Mr. Justice	25	0	0			
Evans, Wm., Esq.	100	0	0	5	5	0
Everett, Mrs. Ann	2	0	0	1	1	0
Ewart, William, Esq., M.P. . . . .	.	.	.	3	3	0
Eyre, George Edward, Esq.	10	10	0			
E. E. A.	5	0	0			
Fitz Roy, the Lord Charles, M.P. . . . .	.	.	.	5	0	0
Fortescue, the Hon. Matthew . . . . .	.	.	.	2	0	0
Farmer, Thomas, Esq.	50	0	0	5	5	0
Farre, Dr.	5	5	0			
Fitzroy, Captain, R.N.	5	0	0			
Flanders, William, Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Fletcher, Alexander and Co., Messrs.	100	0	0			
Forster, Matthew, Esq.	21	0	0	10	10	0
Forster, W. E., Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	2	2	0
Forster, Edward, Esq.	10	10	0			
Foster, Thomas, Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	1	0	0
Found in Exeter Hall	1	0	0			
Fowler, Thomas, Esq.	5	5	0			
Fox, Robert Wire, Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	2	0	0
Fry, William Storrs, Esq.	60	0	0	5	5	0
Fry, John Gurney, Esq.	10	10	0	5	5	0
Fry, Joseph, jun., Esq.	10	10	0	5	5	0
Gloucester and Bristol, the Lord Bishop of	10	0	0			
Grey, the Rt. Hon. Sir Geo. Bart. M.P.	10	10	0			

	Donations.			Annual Subscriptions.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Glyn, Sir Richard Plumtre, Bart.	5	0	0			
Garratt, W. A., Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Glyn, Halifax, Mills, and Co., Messrs.	100	0	0			
Glyn, the Rev. Carr	.	.	.	5	0	0
Gladstone, W. E., Esq., M.P.	.	.	.	2	2	0
Goldsmid, F. H., Esq.	.	.	.	2	2	0
Gosse, Henry, Esq.	.	.	.	2	2	0
Graham, Thomas, Esq.	10	10	0			
Graham, Miss	.	.	.	1	1	0
Grant, James, Esq.	5	0	0			
Gray, the Rev. Wm.	.	.	.	1	0	0
Gray, Wm., Esq.	20	0	0			
Green, Charles, Esq.	1	1	0	1	1	0
Gregory, Professor Olinthus, L.L.D.	1	1	0	1	1	0
Guillebaud, the Rev. Peter	10	10	0			
Gurney, Samuel, Esq.	100	0	0			
Gurney, Samuel, jun., Esq.	25	0	0	3	3	0
Gurney, Mrs. Sarah	5	0	0	1	1	0
Harrowby, the Earl of	20	0	0			
Howe, the Earl	30	0	0			
Hereford, the Lord Bishop of	20	0	0			
Howick, the Lord Viscount, M.P.	10	0	0			
Hooker, Sir William Jackson	.	.	.	1	1	0
Hamilton, William, Esq.	10	10	0			
Hamnet, Edward, Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Hanbury, Robert, Esq.	25	0	0	5	5	0
Hanbury, Osgood, jun., Esq.	.	.	.	3	3	0
Hanbury, Philip, Esq.	.	.	.	3	3	0
Hanbury, Mrs. S.	25	0	0			
Hankey, William Alers, Esq.	50	0	0	5	0	0
Hankinson, the Rev. R.	50	0	0			
Hardy, John, Esq.	10	0	0			
Harford, John S., Esq.	25	0	0			
Hart, G. B., Esq.	10	10	0			
Hathaway, W. S., Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Hawes, Benjamin, jun., Esq., M.P.	10	10	0			
Haywood, J., Esq.	25	0	0			
Henry, Thomas, Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Higgins, James W., Esq.	5	5	0			
Hine, Captain J.	10	10	0			
Hoare, Samuel, Esq.	.	.	.	10	10	0
Hoare, John Gurney, Esq.	25	0	0	3	3	0
Hoare, Mrs.	10	10	0			
Hoare, Joseph, Esq.	5	5	0	1	1	0
Hoare, the Rev. Edward	5	0	0	1	1	0
Hoare, G. M., Esq.	10	0	0			
Hodgson, Adam, Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Hope, Captain Henry, C.B., R.N.	10	10	0			
Hudson, W. B., Esq.	2	0	0			

	Donations.			Annual Subscriptions.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Hutton, William, Esq.	10	10	0	5	5	0
Hutton, Robert, Esq.	10	10	0			
Inglis, Sir Robert Harry, Bart., M.P.	20	0	0			
Irving, John, Esq., M.P.	50	0	0			
Jermyn, the Earl, M.P.	10	0	0			
Jeremie, John, Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	2	2	0
Jobson, the Rev. F. G. . . . .	.	.	.	2	2	0
Johnston, Andrew, Esq.	10	0	0	5	5	0
King, R. J. Pool, Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	1	0	0
London, the Lord Bishop of	25	0	0			
Lincoln, the Lord Bishop of	20	0	0			
Langdale, the Hon. Charles, M.P.	5	0	0			
Lushington, the Right Hon. Stephen, D.C.L., M.P.	21	0	0			
Laffan, Sir Joseph de Courcey, Bart., M.D. . . . .	.	.	.	2	2	0
Labouchere, John, Esq.	20	0	0			
Ladbroke, Kingscote, and Co., Messrs.	100	0	0			
Lady, by a	4	0	0			
Laurie, J. B., Esq.	10	10	0			
Lawrence, Joseph, Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Leatham, William, Esq.	30	0	0			
Leatham, William H., Esq.	10	0	0			
Leatham, Miss Mary W. . . . .	.	.	.	1	0	0
Lecesne, L. C., Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	3	3	0
Lee, the Rev. Samuel . . . . .	.	.	.	2	2	0
Leeman, George, Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Lister, J. J., Esq.	10	10	0	2	2	0
Lister, Daniel, Esq.	5	0	0			
Lloyd, H., Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	3	3	0
Lloyd, Captain M. . . . .	.	.	.	1	0	0
Lloyd, Miss E. . . . .	.	.	.	1	0	0
Longridge, M., Esq.	10	10	0	2	2	0
Lubbock, Sir J. W., Bart. and Co.	100	0	0			
Lushington, Charles, Esq., M.P.	10	0	0			
Mahon, the Lord Viscount, M.P. . . . .	.	.	.	3	3	0
Morpeth, the Rt. Hon. the Lord Viscount, M.P.	25	0	0			
Macaulay, the Rt. Hon. T. B., M.P. . . . .	.	.	.	5	5	0
Murray, the Rt. Hon. General Sir George, G.C.B.	10	0	0			
Maude, the Hon. Captain Francis, R.N. . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Montefiore, Sir Moses, F.R.S.	50	0	0			
Maberley, the Rev. T. A. . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Mac Culloch, James, Esq.	5	5	0	1	1	0
Marsden, Robert, Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	2	2	0
Marsh, the Rev. E. G. . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0

	Donations.			Annual Subscriptions.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Masterman, Peters and Co., Messrs.	100	0	0			
Masterman, John, Esq.	.	.	.	3	3	0
Mathews, Richard, Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Mayo, Herbert, Esq.	10	0	0			
Mill, the Rev. W. H., D.D.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Miles, —, Esq.	5	5	0			
Monro, the Rev. Robert	.	.	.	1	1	0
Morrison, James, Esq.	100	0	0			
Northumberland, His Grace the Duke of	50	0	0			
Northampton, the Most Noble the Marquis of	10	0	0	10	0	0
Nugent, the Lord	.	.	.	3	3	0
Noel, the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W.	10	10	0			
Neale, E. Vansittart, Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Nicolls, Lieut.-Colonel Edward	.	.	.	1	1	0
Nutter, William, Esq.	1	0	0			
Ottley, Sir Richard	10	10	0			
Oliver, James, Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Overend, Gurney, and Co., Messrs.	100	0	0			
Peel, the Right Hon. Sir Robert, Bart., M.P.	105	0	0			
Parry, Captain Sir Edward, R.N.	3	0	0			
Pennant, the Lady Emma	5	0	0			
Pearce, George, Esq.	.	.	.	5	5	0
Pearse, Thomas, Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Penn, Granville, Esq.	100	0	0			
Percival, the Rev. Thomas	.	.	.	0	10	0
Perkin, —, Esq.	.	.	.	1	0	0
Phillips, Mrs. Mary	20	0	0	3	3	0
Phillips, C. Lisle, Esq.	5	0	0	2	2	0
Plumptre, J. P., Esq., M.P.	5	0	0			
Polson, Miss	.	.	.	0	5	0
Porter, George R., Esq.	.	.	.	2	2	0
Porter, Mr.	.	.	.	0	10	0
Pownall, Henry, Esq.	10	10	0			
Pratt, the Rev. Josiah	.	.	.	1	1	0
Prescott, Grote, and Co., Messrs.	100	0	0			
Preston, the Rev. M. M.	.	.	.	2	2	0
Pryor, Robert, Esq.	.	.	.	5	5	0
Pryor, Arthur, Esq.	10	10	0			
Ripon, the Earl of	50	0	0			
Ripon, the Lord Bishop of	10	0	0			
Russell, the Right Hon. the Lord John, M.P.	50	0	0	2	2	0
Rose, the Right Hon. Sir George H., M.P.	20	0	0			
Ranyard, William, Esq.	5	0	0			

	Donations.			Annual Subscriptions.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Redman, George C., Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	5	5	0
Reeve, Henry, Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	2	2	0
Reid, Irving, and Co., Messrs.	100	0	0			
Reynolds, Mrs. Jane	10	0	0			
Rhodes, W., Esq.	5	5	0			
Rhodes, the Rev. F. W. . . . .	.	.	.	2	2	0
Richards, J., jun., Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Rigge, J. S., Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Robarts, Curtis, and Co., Messrs.	100	0	0			
Robinson, K. C., Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	2	2	0
Robinson, J. P., Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Rothery, William, Esq.	5	5	0	2	2	0
Rothery, William, jun., Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Rumsey, J., Esq., M.D. . . . .	.	.	.	3	3	0
Sutherland, His Grace the Duke of	50	0	0			
Sandon, the Lord Viscount, M.P. . . . .	.	.	.	3	3	0
Salisbury, the Lord Bishop of	10	0	0			
Sydney, the Lord Viscount . . . . .	.	.	.	2	2	0
Sydney, the Viscountess . . . . .	.	.	.	2	2	0
Seaford, the Right Hon. the Lord.	21	0	0			
Speaker of the House of Commons, the Right Hon. the	21	0	0			
Stephen, Sir George	20	0	0			
Sams, Joseph, Esq.	5	5	0			
Sanderson, Frys, Fox, and Co., Messrs.	50	0	0			
Scott, the Rev. John . . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Scholefield, —, Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Sewell, Professor	10	0	0			
Sharpe, Lieut. B., R.N. . . . .	.	.	.	2	2	0
Sharples, Joseph, Esq.	20	0	0			
Shippery, William, Esq.	20	0	0	2	2	0
Silver, S. W., Esq.	10	10	0			
Simpson, Mr. . . . .	.	.	.	1	0	0
Singleton, James, Esq.	5	0	0			
Singleton, the Hon. Mrs.	5	0	0			
Smith, Payne, and Smiths, Messrs.	100	0	0			
Smith, Benjamin, Esq., M.P.	50	0	0			
Smith, the Rev. John Pye, D.D. . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Smith, Eusebius, Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	2	2	0
Smith, John, Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Smith, Robert, Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Somes, Joseph, Esq.	100	0	0			
Stephen, Mr. Serjeant. . . . .	.	.	.	3	3	0
Stone, Martin, and Co., Messrs.	100	0	0			
Stone, Nicholas, Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Strachan, J. M., Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	2	2	0
Strange, Lieut., R.N.. . . . .	.	.	.	2	2	0
Stretfeild, W. C., Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	5	5	0
Stretfeild, Miss B. E.	5	0	0			

	Donations.			Annual Subscriptions.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Struthers, William, Esq.	5	5	0			
Sturge, Thomas, Esq.	50	0	0	5	5	0
Teignmouth, the Lord, M.P.	10	10	0			
Tindal, the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice, C.P.	20	0	0			
Thompson, the Hon. Mrs.	10	10	0			
Taylor, William, Esq.	20	0	0			
Thomson, E., Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Thornton, John, Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	3	3	0
Thornton, Henry Sykes, Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	10	10	0
Torrens, Colonel	10	0	0			
Townsend, R. E., Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Travers and Co., Messrs.	10	10	0			
Trevelyan, C. E., Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	2	0	0
Trinidad, a few friends at, per Mr. Thomas Bilby	4	10	0			
Trotman, D., Esq.	1	0	0	1	0	0
Trotter, Alexander, Esq.	10	10	0	2	2	0
Trotter, Captain, R.N.	2	0	0	1	1	0
Trotter, Miss	1	0	0			
Trueman and Cook, Messrs.	100	0	0			
Truman, Hanbury, Buxton, and Co., Messrs.	100	0	0			
Tweedy, William, Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	2	2	0
Tweedy, William M., Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	2	2	0
T. E. M.	1	0	0			
Upcher, the Hon. Mrs.	10	0	0			
Upcher, Henry R., Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	2	2	0
Verney, Sir Harry, Bart., M.P.	10	10	0			
Vanner, Mr. John. . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Vaughan, the Rev. Robert, D.D. . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Westminster, the Most Noble the Marquis of	500	0	0			
Winchester, the Lord Bishop of	20	0	0			
Worsley, the Lord, M.P. . . . .	.	.	.	5	5	0
Wilson, the Hon. H. W.	2	0	0	2	0	0
Washington, Captain, R.N. . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Waymouth, Henry, Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	3	3	0
Welman, Charles N., Esq.	10	0	0			
White, Blanco, Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Wilberforce, William, Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	3	3	0
Wilberforce, the Venerable the Archdeacon . . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Wilberforce, the Rev. Robert Isaac . . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Wilberforce, the Rev. Henry . . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Williams, Deacon, and Co., Messrs.	100	0	0			
Windham, Mrs.	0	10	6			

	Donations.			Annual Subscriptions.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Winterbottom, T. M., Esq., M.D..	10	10	0			
Wood, the Rev. John Ryle . . . . .	.	.	.	1	0	0
Wright, John Smith, Esq.	105	0	0	5	5	0
Wright, Ichabod, Esq.	20	0	0			
Wright, Ichabod Charles, Esq.	10	0	0			
Wright, Miss . . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Yates, J. A., Esq., M.P. . . . .	.	.	.	2	2	0
Yates, R. V., Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Young, George Frederick, Esq. . . . .	.	.	.	2	2	0

N.B.—A subscription of one guinea a year and upwards constitutes an annual member of the Society, and a donation of ten guineas and upwards, a life member; but annual subscriptions or donations of smaller amounts are received.

Subscriptions and Donations are received by the Treasurer, J. Gurney Hoare, Esq.; by Messrs. Barnett, Hoares, and Co., 62, Lombard-street; Messrs. Barclay, Bevan, and Co., 54, Lombard-street; Messrs. Coutts and Co., 59, Strand; Messrs. Drummonds, Charing-cross; Messrs. Hanbury, Taylor, and Lloyd, 60, Lombard-street; Messrs. Hankeys, 7, Fenchurch-street; Messrs. Hoares, 37, Fleet-street; and Messrs. Williams, Deacon, and Co., 20, Birchin-lane; and by the Secretary, the Rev. J. M. Trew (to whom all communications relative to the business of the Society may be addressed), at the Office of the Society, 15, Parliament-street.

FORM OF A BEQUEST.

I GIVE and bequeath to the Treasurer for the time being of the Society, now usually held in Parliament Street, within the Liberty of Westminster, and commonly called the SOCIETY FOR THE EXTINCTION OF THE SLAVE TRADE, AND FOR THE CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA, the Sum of *Pounds Sterling, for the*
better support of the said Institution, and carrying on the designs thereof; and I direct the same to be paid out of my Personal Estate within *Calendar Months next after my decease.*

